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Warsaw Pact Proposes European Arms Ceiling Levels
PM2205120989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 May 89 Second Edition p 7

[PRAVDA own correspondent I. Melnikov dispatch: "Important Document Submitted"]

[Text] Vienna, 18 May—Today's session at the Vienna talks was constructive. Special Ambassador O.A. Grinyevskiy, USSR delegation head, read out a working document containing proposals on levels of armed forces and conventional arms for each alliance in Europe. This document, which was submitted on behalf of the Warsaw Pact states, is based on proposals expounded by M.S. Gorbachev 11 May in a conversation with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker.

The proposed cuts are radical. They make provision for arriving at substantially reduced arms level. As a result of the initial agreement the following equal collective limits have been determined for each alliance: 1,350,000 personnel; 1,500 units of combat strike aircraft; 1,700 combat helicopters; 20,000 tanks; 24,000 artillery pieces; and 28,000 ground forces combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers.

The Warsaw Pact states reckon that phased reductions to these levels should be carried out in all six categories over 5-6 years following the conclusion of an accord. Their approach also presupposes that the reductions will take place simultaneously throughout the area from the Atlantic to the Urals, taking regional variations into consideration so as not to be detrimental to the security of any one of the participants or to any European country in general.

Pact Commander Denies USSR Modernizing Missiles
PM1905142689 London DAILY TELEGRAPH
in English 19 May 89 p 10

[Adela Gooch report: "NATO Chief Calls Soviet Bluff on 'New Arms Race'"]

[Text] Modernising short-range nuclear systems could resurrect the arms race, Gen Petr Lushev, of the Soviet Union, claimed yesterday during a visit to Britain—the first by a Warsaw Pact commander-in-chief. His words followed a threat from Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet Foreign Minister, to stop implementing the INF Treaty and dismantling SS-23 missiles if NATO went ahead with modernisation.

Speaking later at the same meeting, Gen John Galvin, Gen Lushev's NATO opposite number, called the Soviet bluff, citing Soviet replacement of the Frog system with longer-range and more accurate SS-21s and the improved quality of Soviet Scud missiles. Gen Lushev said: "The modernisation of tactical nuclear weapons, which is now being discussed in NATO, actually means the development of new intermediate-range missiles similar to those which are now being eliminated in the Soviet Union under the INF Treaty."

He was addressing an audience at the Royal United Services' institute.

The gist of his argument, accusing NATo of creating covert medium-range nuclear systems, ran counter to NATO intelligence reports that the Soviet Union has already modernised many of its short-range systems and retargeted long-range missiles to cover the gap left by the INF treaty—suggestions fiercely denied by the general yesterday.

"I should like to confirm what has been repeatedly stated by the Soviet leadership, namely that the Soviet Union is not carrying out a modernisation of its tactical missiles," he said.

Gen Lushev stressed that any Western move to modernise systems such as the Lance Missile, currently the subject of fierce debate within NATO, could become a "major obstacle" to progress in the Vienna talks on conventional disarmament.

But his tone was more conciliatory than that of Soviet political leaders to recent days who have tried to establish a direct link between conventional and short-range nuclear weapons reductions.

Mrs Thatcher and the United States Administration have repeatedly ruled out negotiations to reduce short-range weapons, which are viewed as an integral part of the NATO strategy of flexible response.

Gen Lushev claimed: "Without reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons it is hardly possible to speak seriously about elimination of the threat of war."

Gen Wolfgang Altenberg, head of NATO's military committee, who followed Gen Lushev to the podium, left the door open on negotiations: "My father always told me never to say 'never'," he said. "It's a question of timing and intelligence."

But he stressed that nuclear weapons were a key element in detering aggression.

Gen Galvin took the rare opportunity of speaking directly to the Soviet military hierarchy to suggest ways in which the soviet Union could prove its strategy was defensive.

It should move its huge amount of supplies away from the front to compensate for NATO's far greater reinforcement difficulties.

It should reduce the overwhelming advantage it has in tanks, armoured troop carriers and artillery systems, and remove or reduce operational manoeuvre groups, Spetznaz and airborne forces.

Its production of armament should be slowed or stopped, and offensively structured command and control centres should be dismantled. The Kremlin should also allow the West to observe these changes.

SDI Tests May Violate ABM Treaty

PM2205142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Lieutenant General V. Starodubov article: "Dubious Experiments"]

[Text] **It is 6 years since the U.S. SDI program was announced. Its original plans have undergone metamorphosis, and one exotic project after another has withered away or has been put off indefinitely. The reasons are most diverse, ranging from the scientific and technical untanability of some idea, to finacial appropriation constraints.**

Of all the diverse initial projects in the SDI program, the greatest advance so far has been achieved in work on the creation [sozdaniye] of the "Alpha" chemical laser, manufactured [izgotovlennyy] by the TRW military-industrial concern, and of new space-based antimissiles—the so-called "brilliant pebbles"—developed [razrabotannyy] by the "Rockwell International" and "Martin-Marietta" U.S. aerospace corporations. The "Alpha" laser was tested at a California test ground 7 April this year, and one "brilliant pebble" variety was tested at Edwards Air Force Base 1 week later.

Naturally, there is the question of whether this work conforms with the provisions of the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM] Systems. According to press reports, U.S. experts are apparently totally "unable to reach unanimity" on whether this work contradicts the pledges given by the United States or is still within the permissible framework.

Let us try to figure this out.

According to press report referring to official Pentagon sources (and specifically THE NEW YORK TIMES 11 April 1989), the **"Alpha" laser,** designed to strike intercontinental ballistic missiles [ICBM] in flight, is due to be launched in space in 1994, following further tests. Consequently, this is a matter of testing a space-based weapon whose systems and components the sides pledged "not to develop, test, or deploy" (Article V of the ABM Treaty).

SDI supporters raise doubts about this pledge, referring to the so-called "broad interpretation" according to which Article V should supposedly apply only to traditional ABM systems and components—antimissiles, their launch installations, and ABM radar stations. As regards the "Alpha" laser, it belongs to the class of systems "based on other physical principles" and therefore the work associated with it is supposedly governed by specially agreed statement "D."

In the first place, however, the "broad interpretation" is a one-sided U.S. interpretation of the treaty. In principle, it cannot have any legal force because the sides pledged to observe that to which they agreed and not at all that which either of them might fancy. Second, agreed statement "D", even though it permits the deployment of systems "based on other physical principles," does so subject to a condition that such systems could be deployed only as provided by Article III of the treaty, in other words within an area around the capital or within an area containing ICBM silos. The inventors of the "broad interpretation" ignore the part of the agreed statement which contains this implication. And yet it is of key importance: It is impossible to deploy space-based systems in any of the aforementioned areas since these areas are actually on Earth. Consequently, agreed statement "D" cannot apply to space-based systems. Therefore, these systems are unconditionally banned by Article V of the ABM Treaty.

And now about the "brilliant pebbles." This unusual name for antimissiles was picked mainly because they are small in size and mass.

What are the "brilliant pebbles?" They were reportedly invented by L. Wood, a physicist at the Livermore Laboratory. Speaking at a briefing last month, he demonstrated one of this antimissile's basic models. It is indeed small: About 1 meter in length, weighing 45 kg when fueled. Its data processors, according to the inventor, while ensure reliable detection of a ballistic missile's launch and will shadow it during its flight's acceleration stage.

A different model was tested during the experiment carried out at Edwards Air Force Base, weighing up to 70 kg and about 2 meters in length. Using its own propulsion system, it rose to an altitude of 10 meters in the air, locked on to its set target, and descended 20 seconds later.

Statements by officials indicate that the "brilliant pebbles" concept is now being studied. The implication is that this stage involves evaluations of the possibility of deploying between 3,000 and 10,000 (and even more than 10,000, according to some data) antimissiles. It is, moreover, assumed that they could be deployed either on suitable space stations or on Earth—standing by on missile delivery vehicles [v sostoyanii dezhurstva na raketakh-nositelyakh].

The inconsistency of the work on the development [sozdaniye], testing, and deployment of space-based antimissiles with the ABM Treaty is even more obvious than in the case of the "Alpha" laser. This work cannot be justified even using the "broad interpretation," which was actually based on a distinction of systems "based on other physical principles" and specifically antimissiles belonging to traditional categories of ABM weapons. Not even the authors of the "broad interpretation" raised any doubts about the ban on the development [sozdavat], testing, and deployment of antimissiles in space.

But what will happen to the ABM Treaty? It clearly hinders the SDI program. U.S. Secretary of Defense R. Cheney bluntly declared recently: "If we reached the stage of being able to deploy SDI—and I certainly hope that this will happen at some time—and such deployment were inconsistent with the ABM Treaty, I would advocate repudiation of this treaty." The minister's viewpoint is clearly expressed. But R. Cheney is incorrect in claiming the SDI's inconsistency with the ABM Treaty would begin with "deployment." Insofar as it concerns space-based ABM systems and components, it begins long before deployment—at the stage of their development [sozdaniye] and testing. Let me remind readers that Article V of the ABM Treaty clearly states: "Each Party undertakes **not to develop, test,** or deploy" ABM systems or components which are **space**-based.

Some SDI supporters say that it is apparently necessary to determine from the very beginning the meaning of "development" [sozdaniye] and only then to decide when the "Alpha" lasers or the "brilliant pebbles" actually start contradicting U.S. pledges under the ABM Treaty.

In order to avoid unnecessary polemics, let us give the floor to the U.S. expert who offered an interpretation of this term during the elaboration of the treaty's relevant provisions.

H. Brown, member of the U.S. delegation to the SALT I talks, reading a prepared statement on 27 August 1971, explained that when using the term "development" [sozdaniye], the United States had in mind that stage in the development [razvitiye] of a weapons system which follows the research [issledovaniye] stage and is associated with the building and testing of **one** or more **prototypes** of an ABM weapons system or its components. It was proposed that this stage should begin with the "field" trials of the ABM prototype or component. Later on in the talks on nuclear and space arms, U.S. delegation head M. Kampelman repeated this understanding of the term.

It may be possible that the "Alpha" laser or "brilliant pebble" tested last month are still not components of an ABM system. But are they not their first prototypes? In any event, this seems to be very much the case as regards "brilliant pebbles." Therefore, the U.S. secretary of defense should start thinking right now, rather than in the distant future, about strict adherence to international pledges given by Washington.

In conclusion, one would like to ask: Do the SDI supporters realize the responsibility they take on when demolishing the ABM Treaty—the basis of strategic stability and of the arms limitation and reduction process? Is it not time to take off the rose-tinted spectacles through which they look at their space ambitions, and take a sober look at things. An attempt to gain world domination through space by some other method is utopian. It can only erect a barrier across the path to the reduction of strategic offensive arms and give a fresh boost to the arms race in new spheres and along new avenues. One need not be a prophet to foresee the ensuing destabilization of the strategic situation in the world which would make mankind's very existence dependent on the whim of chance.

Would it not be better to opt for the alternative proposed by the Soviet Union: To eliminate nuclear and other mass destruction weapons, not to embark on new avenues of the arms race, to reduce states' military potentials to the level of reasonable sufficiency, and to implement the idea of nonoffensive defense. This—in contrast with SDI—offers a path to peace, stability, and good neighborliness.

Soviet Tank Regiment Leaves Hungary For Home 20 May
LD2005181789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1323 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Budapest, 20 May (TASS)—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Smirnov reports:

The personnel of a tank regiment, with its combat hardware, left Hngary for the Soviet Union and home today. The regiment is to be disbanded. Part of its combat equipment will be utilized in the national economy, and part will be dismantled. Servicemen whose period of service has expired will be transferred to the reserve, and the others will be redesignated.

Townspeople, officers of the Hungarian People's Army, and Hungarian and foreign journalists gathered to see off the Soviet servicemen. The military attaches of Warsaw Pact member states and of NATO countries also attended.

A festive meeting took place at which representatives of the local Hungarian people spoke many worm words about the Soviet soldiers and officers. They had not only performed their direct military duty, but also assisted their Hungarian friends in field work, road construction, and the maintenance of safety on main transportation routes.

After the tanks were loaded on the freight cars, the wave of a flag from a local railroad worker sent the heavy train rolling on its way in the direction of the Hungarian-Soviet border.

The Soviet troop withdrawal is being carried out in conditions of glasnost and openness. Hungarian and foreign journalists are being kept fully informed of the troop withdrawal procedure, and are given the opportunity of photographing the modern combat hardware that forms part of the Soviet Army's arsenal.

Warsaw Pact Appeal to NATO States Published

PM2305085989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed article: "Warsaw Pact States' Appeal to NATO States"]

[Text] The Warsaw Pact member countries—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union—addressed the member countries of NATO on the eve of their summit with a call to evaluate new realities of the world today and take advantage of the opening chance of fully overcoming the consequences of the cold war in Europe and the whole world.

The post-war period in the European history was not easy for anyone. Cooperation in the struggle against fascism in the name of freedom and independence of nations that existed in the years of the Second World War was replaced by confrontation. The two military-political alliances formed in Europe as a result. Ever more refined and destructive armaments were rapidly stockpiled.

The past decades have shown clearly that this situation undermines security in all Europe and enhances the risk of a nuclear conflict. This conclusion has led to the beginning of the European process in which European countries, the United States, and Canada participate. The goal of this process is the removal of military confrontation, the consolidation of security by joint efforts through a dialogue, mutual understanding, and mutually advantageous cooperation on the basis of complete equality, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and all other principles of the Helsinki Final Act and generally recognized norms of international law.

The achievement of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, progress in the consolidation of peace, and settlement of regional conflicts open favorable opportunities for the widening of cooperation among states and peoples. The international situation remains complex and contradictory, and a radical improvement has not yet been achieved.

Striving to overcome the continued division of Europe into the opposing military blocs, the Warsaw Pact countries declare their support for the simultaneous disbandment of the two military-political alliances, and, as an initial step, of their military organizations. Advancing on the road to this goal, the Warsaw Pact countries and the members of NATO could direct their joint efforts toward abandoning military confrontation, developing interaction of states regardless of membership in some or other alliance, and establishing peace and cooperation in Europe with complete respect for the existing territorial and political realities.

The Warsaw Pact states hold that realities of the world today require a new concept of security—mutual and undivided security based on the constant lowering of military confrontation and arms reduction until the menace of an outbreak of war is completely eliminated, through the elimination of the very means and potentials for waging war. The process of disarmament ensuring the strengthening of confidence must comprise the entire complex of armed forces related to Europe—land, air, and naval forces, of all armaments—conventional, nuclear, and chemical. This will make it possible to advance to real military and political stability.

The negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces and Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in Europe that opened in Vienna are called upon to play the decisive role in this process. A number of fundamental problems is to be resolved in their context—the Armed Forces are to be reduced to the levels sufficient for defense, the military doctrines and their material and technical contents are to be discussed, the existing stereotypes and distortions in the views of each other are to be overcome, and a mechanism of constructive interaction is to be established.

The Warsaw Pact countries recall their proposals aimed at a substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments with a corresponding lowering of the military spending.

The Warsaw Pact countries support the additional proposals the Soviet Union submitted at the Vienna talks on a radical reduction of armaments and armed forces of both alliances by 1996-1997.

The Warsaw Pact countries confirm their proposals for regional measures aimed at the lessening of the risk of a surprise attack, enhancing confidence, and strengthening security building in various zones of Europe.

They hold that it is necessary to move toward including in the disarmament dialogue all the means of warfare that are so far outside its frame. In this connection the allied countries confirm their proposals for the holding of separate talks on tactical nuclear weapons and the undelayed opening of special consultations to prepare such talks. They support the Soviet Union's decision on the unilateral withdrawal of 500 warheads of tactical nuclear weapon systems from the territories of allied countries to its own territory in 1989, as well as the readiness expressed by the Soviet Union to withdraw the entire nuclear ammunition from the territories of its allies in 1989-1991, provided a similar step is taken by the United States.

There is a pressing need to spread the negotiating process to naval forces and their armaments, beginning with applying confidence-building measures to them.

It is also important to refrain from steps that could complicate the negotiating process and give a fresh impetus to the arms race, also under the pretext of modernization.

All-around development of cooperation in other areas of interstate relations would also promote the growth of confidence among states and the enhancement of their mutual security. The creation of favorable conditions for the development of cooperation in the areas of economics, trade, science, and technology, ecological safety, as well as in the area of human rights, human dimension with respect for the sovereignty of states, noninterference in their internal affairs, would be to the benefit not only of Europe, but also of the whole world.

The achievement of mutual understanding between states of the two alliances on such a matter as restraint with regard to regional conflicts, above all refraining from steps that might cause the aggravation of the situation, could be a substantial factor promoting the improvement of the international situation. Countries of both alliances could also cooperate in the settlement of some or other conflicts. There is the growing need for restricting trade in arms by joint efforts. The ensurance of safety of sea lanes and commercial air routes, including the lessening of concentration and limiting the activity of naval and air forces in corresponding areas, are an important task.

There is a need for closer interaction and coordination of efforts in combating international terrorism and narcotics trafficking.

Contacts along the military line, specifically, exchange of information about proposals and initiatives, matters of the reduction of military budgets, discussion of military doctrines, exchange of military delegations, could play a considerable role in the efforts to remove distrust between the Warsaw Pact member countries and the countries of NATO.

The Warsaw Pact countries address a proposal to the countries of NATO to establish a political dialogue between the two alliances and contacts between their representatives.

The Warsaw Pact countries are prepared to attentively receive proposals from the member countries of NATO aimed at stimulating positive tendencies that started manifesting themselves in relations between countries. They call for joint actions to ensure a dynamic development and universal prosperity in conditions of independence, stability, and peace in Europe and the whole world.

Pact Military Council Session Opens in Berlin 22 May

LD2205184489 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Berlin May 22 TASS—The military council of the Warsaw Treaty Joint Armed Forces began a session here today.

Taking part in its work are military delegations from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

The session is chaired by Gen. Petr Lushev, first deputy defence minister of the USSR—commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty Armed Forces.

Gen. Heinz Kessler, national defence minister of the GDR, addressed the participants in the session with a message of greetings.

Further on Pact Army Political Chiefs Meeting

PM2205090589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Conference of Chiefs of Main Political Directorates of Warsaw Pact States' Armies"]

[Text] A conference of chiefs of the main political directorates of the Warsaw Pact states' armies was held in Budapest 17-19 May.

The following took part in its work: Colonel General M. Mitkov, chief of the Bulgarian People's Army Political Main Administration; Major General L. Krasznai, chief of the Hungarian People's Army Political Main Directorate and Hungarian deputy defense minister; Colonel General H. Bruenner, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army of the GDR; Vice Admiral L. Dutkowski, first deputy chief of the Polish Army Main Political Administration; Rear Admiral D. Petre, deputy secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Nay Main Political Directorate; and Colonel General J. Klicha, chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army Political Main Administration.

During their stay in Hungary the heads of the delegations were received by K. Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

At the conference there was a broad exchange of opinions and experience in topical questions of political and ideological work in the allied armies to implement the defense tasks set in the decisions of the fraternal parties' congresses and conferences.

The heads of the delegations laid a wreath at the monument to the Hungarian heroes who fell in the struggle for their motherland's freedom and independence.

On 19 May the Soviet military delegation headed by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, left for home.

Lizichev Departs After Budapest Meeting

LD1905143989 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Budapest May 19 TASS—An exchange of experience of political and ideological work in the Warsaw Treaty armies was held in the course of a three-day meeting of the chiefs of the main political departments of the Warsaw Treaty armies which ended here today.

The heads of the delegations were received by Hungarian leader Karoly Grosz.

They went to see the monument to Hungarian heroes who lost their lives in the struggle for freedom and independence of their homeland, and laid a wreath there.

The Soviet military delegation, led by Chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, Army General Aleksey Lizichev, left for home earlier today.

31st CEMA Executive Committee Session Reported

PRAVDA Reports Outcome

PM2205124589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "CEMA Executive Committee Session"]

[Text] The 131st session of the CEMA Executive Committee took place in Moscow 16 through 18 May.

The following took part in the session: A. Lukanov (Bulgaria); P. Medgyessy (Hungary); Tran Duc Long (SRV); H. Soelle (GDR); A. Esquivel (Cuba); M. Pelje (Mongolia); I. Sekula (Poland); S. Andrei (Romania); N. Talyzin (USSR); J. Obzina (CSSR); and V. Sychev, the council's secretary.

In accordance with the agreement between CEMA and the SFRY Government, B. Pajkovic, member of the Federal Executive Council, took part in the work of the Executive Council.

Bulgaria's representative, A. Lukanov, chaired the session.

Attention was focused on topical matters of multilateral cooperation between CEMA members on the agenda of the next, the 45th, sitting of the CEMA session. They examined and approved the Executive Committee report for submission to the session on CEMA activity between the 44th and 45th CEMA session sittings. This report reflected the progress of work to implement the decisions of the CEMA countries' economic summit conference. They discussed the problems and main avenues linked with intensifying the social orientation of economic cooperation involving the socialist community countries. In line with the instructions of the 44th CEMA session sitting they elaborated proposals to restructure cooperation in the standardization sphere in the interests of intensifying this cooperation.

A report on work to coordinate the CEMA members' economic plans for the years 1991-1995 was approved and submitted to the council session.

They discussed the progress made in fulfilling the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, including its two priority areas—the development of nuclear power generation and biotechnology. The Executive Committee approved the relevant submissions to the session and instructed CEMA organs to take concrete steps to boost the effect and the effectiveness of cooperation within the framework of the program.

The CEMA committee's draft interstate program for multilateral cooperation aimed at meeting more fully countries' future requirements for integrated microcircuits and other components of the electronic components base was examined.

The Executive Committee approved proposals to organize cooperation in meeting CEMA countries' requirements for sophisticated, new-generation electronic communications equipment by the year 2000.

They examined proposals regarding joint work in the sphere of licensing activity. These proposals provide for mutual exchange of licenses, notably within the framework of direct ties between CEMA countries' enterprises and organizations, and also for the creation of a data bank related to licenses within the framework of the International Science and Technical Information Center.

An exchange of opinions took place at the session on progress in fulfilling Council and Executive Committee session resolutions to restructure the mechanism for multilateral cooperation, improve its planning instruments, and make broader use of commodity-money relations and progressive forms and methods of cooperation. It was noted that the work begun within the CEMA framework on improving the methodology for price formation in mutual trade between CEMA countries and the international currency and financial mechanism is still slow in being carried out.

During the debate ideas were voiced on the need to speed up the elaboration of specific proposals to restructure the mechanism for multilateral economic cooperation and socialist economic integration.

The Executive Committee examined items concerning the development of direct ties between economic organizations and the activity of joint enterprises from CEMA countries concerned. It was noted that the requisite conditions within the countries are being created and are helping to broaden these progressive forms of cooperation. At the same time it was stressed that enterprises,

associations, and other economic organizations should be involved to a greater degree in CEMA countries' economic cooperation and that their influence in speeding up the solution of key problems of scientific and technical progress, dynamizing mutual trade, and increasing production of competitive output should be appreciably increased.

The Executive Committee examined a number of questions of CEMA cooperation with international economic organizations. A report was heard on a meeting of CEMA and EEC experts, at which they continued the discussion of questions linked with the organization of CEMA-EEC cooperation in line with the joint declaration they signed in 1988.

Other problems in economic collaboration between CEMA countries and the council's activity were discussed.

The Executive Committee session took place in an atmosphere of comradely debate and mutual understanding.

A. Lukanov described the CEMA Executive Committee session as a turning point. He said this at a press conference on its completion.

Social orientation in economic cooperation must be increased in every way possible, the Bulgarian representative pointed out. The CEMA countries can successfully coordinate their efforts in the automobile industry and production of high-tech electronics and video and medical equipment. The results of the current session will in many respects help resolve these tasks.

V. Sychev stressed that economic ties cannot be deepened further without radical restructuring. He described the creation of conditions to stimulate direct contacts between producers and provide them with outlets on the world market as the main task.

Journalists were told about the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 and also about the prospects for cooperation with international economic organizations, in particular with the EEC.

CEMA Secretary Comments

LD1905114589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting of the CEMA Executive Committee ended in Moscow today.

[Unidentified correspondent] The participants discussed a number of issues concerning multilateral cooperation within the CEMA framework, which will be included in the agenda of the council's next meeting in Sofia. For example, they looked into the way the decisions taken at the CEMA economic summit-level conference are being fulfilled, and an analysis was made of the coordination of our countries' national economic plans for the 1991-95 period. At the same time, particular attention was devoted to the social orientation of cooperation, and to directing it more toward the population's needs.

The meeting has come to an end, and I know that one of the main issues concerned the restructuring of the cooperation mechanism. Why is this issue so topical, and what is actually being done in this area?

[Begin recording of CEMA Secretary V.V. Sychev, identified by screen caption] CEMA is currently going through a tough period of development. As you know, since the beginning of the eighties there has been a deterioration in the conditions under which our cooperation has been developing, both internally and externally. The economic growth rates of CEMA member countries have slowed down, our countries' economies are being transferred to the path of intensive development too slowly, there has been a fall in the pace of introduction of scientific and technical achievements in the national economy, and the situation has deteriorated on the world markets. The result of this is that mutual trade turnover between the CEMA members has stopped growing, and all members agree that unless there is a radical and fundamental restructuring of the economic mechanism by which we cooperate, we shall not be able to advance. This is why it is so very important to renew our cooperation mechanism, its currency-financial instruments, price instruments, and legal instruments. [end recording]

'Intercosmos' Conference Ends in CSSR

LD2005061589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2125 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Prague, 20 May (TASS)—A working conference of the "Earth Research From Space" group of the socialist countries "Intercosmos" program has ended in Ceske-Budejovice (southern Czech lands). Specialists from Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia discussed over 7 days the problems of implementing the international projects concerning this sphere, and the tasks for the future.

Within the framework of the conference, an international seminar took place entitled: "Data From Space Research Into the Earth—A Source for Modelling the Geosystem." The participants in the conference also gave attention to the "Ekoligiya" project, which has been adopted at the initiative of Czechoslovakia and which is to begin to be implemented on 1991. The project is devoted to studying the influence of man on the environment.

Further on Gerasimov's 22 May News Briefing

Warsaw Pact Urges 'Disbandment' of NATO

LD2205155789 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—Member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) have issued an address to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in the run-up to the NATO summit meeting in Brussels in late May, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told reporters today. The document urges NATO to take stock of new realities and use the opportunity to do away with cold war in Europe and in the world, Gerasimov said.

WTO member-states suggest a simultaneous disbandment of both military-political alliances. Their military organisations could be disbanded as a first step, he said. WTO member-states want to include all weapons not covered by current arms negotiations into the dialogue on disarmament including the naval forces, he said.

The Warsaw Treaty Organisation reiterates its call for separate talks on tactical nuclear weapons and proposes a political dialogue with NATO countries.

More on UK Expulsions 'Row'

LD2305105189 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 22 May 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The expulsions row between Britain and the Soviet Union has been the topic of today's briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press center. Nikolay Gorshkov of our staff has been there.

[Gorshkov] The international press corps was addressed by the chief Soviet spokesman, Gennadiy Gerasimov. [passage omitted]

Since three of the British nationals have been working in Moscow as journalists, a question about their fate followed from a correspondent of French daily LIBERATION.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] Since you are in charge of foreign journalists here, to whom can we ask questions about that? If you cannot answer our questions, would that be possible to have an official from some other department [words indistinct]? [end recording]

[Gorshkov] The rules for foreign correspondents working in the Soviet Union, Gennadiy Gerasimov remarked, entitle any foreign reporter who was stripped of his accreditation to apply to the top officials of the USSR Foreign Ministry to reconsider the case. The minister's decision then will be final.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] Question from THE INDEPENDENT of London. I didn't quite understand your remarks on the quotas. You seem to be implying that you would now operate a strict ceiling in equivalent to the British one, where there are 205 accredited Soviet personnel in London. You say the Soviet Union has now allowed this figure here, the corresponding figure, to go up to 375. Does this imply 160 or 170 people will now have their accreditation withdrawn to produce parity? [end recording]

[Gorshkov] I believe your interpretation is correct, Gennadiy Gerasimov quipped. [as heard] As you may know, our press department never engaged in establishing quotas for foreign reporters in the USSR, although Soviet reporters in the United States, for example, have always been subject to quotas established by the U.S. Department of State. The same applies to Britain, hence there are fewer Soviet journalists in the United States or Britain as compared to numerous American and British correspondents in the Soviet Union. Now the time has come for Britain to abide by the established quota.

But THE FINANCIAL TIMES correspondent was not quite satisfied with that answer.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified FINANCIAL TIMES correspondent] A question from THE FINANCIAL TIMES again—sorry—about the quota question. Does this quota affect representative offices of British companies in the Soviet Union? Does it affect, for example, British companies' representatives who may be involved in joint ventures with Soviet companies? And what, if so, does that indicate for the Soviet desire to embark in joint ventures with British companies? [end recording]

[Gorshkov] I am glad you have asked this question, Gennadiy Gerasimov said. I will pass it on to those who wrote this statement. I do agree with you that we have to consider the business interests. If we slash quotas for businessmen, what will happen to our business relations?

'Group of Six' Sends Appeal to Bush, Gorbachev

PM2305105789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Message From the 'Six'"]

[Text] Stockholm, 22 May—The leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania, and Sweden—members of the "Initiative of the Six for Peace and Disarmament"—have sent M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and U.S. President G. Bush a joint message timed to coincide with the 5th anniversary of the Group of Six's creation. The international situation nowadays has undergone considerable changes, the text of the message circulated here says. U.S.-USSR relations have improved, progress has been made in the sphere of limiting the arms race and in

disarmament, and for the first time since World War II there is a real chance of a radical departure from the confrontation characteristic of the past.

The events of the last 2 years have shown that if the political will exists, no obstacles are insuperable, the document stresses. Noting the progress that has been made in disarmament, the writers of the message urge the Soviet Union and the United States not only not to relax but, on the contrary, to increase their efforts in this sphere. In this connection the message indicated the need to reach an agreement as soon as possible on reducing the sides' strategic nuclear arsenals.

Many tasks still have to be resolved to render the disarmament process irreversible, the message emphasized. Now, as never before, it is essential to conclude a treaty imposing an all-embracing ban on nuclear tests. A multilateral system to monitor the disarmament process should be created as quickly as possible within the UN framework. An international agreement should also be concluded banning the use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances. Other urgent measures advocated by the Group of Six include prevention of the militarization of space, the most rapid conclusion of a chemical weapons convention, and renunciation of the use of nuclear charges from dismantled systems in other types of arms.

The dialogue that we called for 5 years ago is now well under way, the document pointed out. There is no longer an atmosphere of mistrust. There is a desire for universal security, for which we have fought within the framework of our initiative. The United Nations will be better able to promote its aims under these conditions. As for the Group of Six, it is ready to continue its joint work and also to cooperate with other countries within the United Nations and various international forums in order to achieve the final goal—peace and security throughout the world.

Hungarian, U.S. Envoys Comment on Restructuring

PM1605151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Roundup of Moscow ambassadors' comments on restructuring: "View From the Embassy in Moscow: The Heads of Foreign Missions Talk About Our Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] Never in recent decades has so much been written about the Soviet Union as now. The foreign mass media, even those that do not feel particular sympathy for us, deem it necessary to talk about life in the Land of the Soviets and about the in-depth processes taking place in our country. Well-known statesmen, politicians, public figures, scientists, writers, and international observers expound their views on the progress and significance of restructuring in the Soviet Union in the world's press.

But how do the ambassadors accredited in Moscow, who are not only direct witnesses to the revolutionary transformations taking place in our country but also inform their governments about them, view restructuring? What in this complex process particularly attracts their attention? PRAVDA correspondent V. Chernyshev asked the heads of the diplomatic missions of a number of states this question.

Sandor Rajnai (Hungary)

As a direct witness of events I can say with conviction that historic changes are indeed being accomplished in the life of Soviet society. The endeavors designed to renew socialism and the sociopolitical measures in the life of the Soviet people can be compared in terms of scope and significance with the October Revolution. People in the West also acknowledge this today. We Hungarians think it particularly important that the Soviet Union under the leadership of the CPSU is working to create a new democratic and, at the same time, modern model of socialism. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party has also proclaimed major sociopolitical and economic reforms on many occasions since its foundation, but they were often left unfinished because of the unfavorable international situation.

Now for the first time in the 44-year history of building socialism in Hungary we have found ourselves in a position where we were able to embark on epochal ventures in a favorable international situation and take advantage of the trust and support from the Soviet Union and the CPSU. It is no coincidence that we see the restructuring under way in the USSR as the supreme international guarantee of the successful implementation of the Hungarian reform process. It was noted at the recent talks between our parties' general secretaries that the main processes of change in our countries coincide.

I consider the elaboration of the new political thinking and its practical implementation one of the most significant gains of Soviet restructuring. The establishment of cooperation between socialist countries and their parties on a new firm foundation will be of great significance for resolving the global problems facing mankind. In his book "Restructuring and the New Thinking for Our Country and the Entire World" M.S. Gorbachev stressed that the entire system of political relations between socialist countries should indisputably be based on the foundation of complete independence.

I also see Soviet restructuring being implemented in the USSR's new approach to the nationalities question. The fact that Hungarians living at the foot of the Carpathians have received greater opportunities than before to develop their national traditions, culture, and language is a practical manifestation of this.

I believe that the Soviet people voted unequivocally in the March elections for the consistent continuation of public renewal despite the problems and difficulties of the transitional period. [passage omitted]

Jack F. Matlock (United States)

Manifestations of glasnost in Soviet society and partly in the USSR's mass media and also the increasingly broad discussion of the reforms taking place have made a profound impression on both the world public and also on me personally. The increase in and broadening of possibilities for contacts and free debate to compare various viewpoints are helping resolve the difficulties that still burden U.S.-Soviet relations.

As for the ideological grounds for the restructuring policy, I first draw attention to the singling out of "general human values," a term that creates a more reliable fundation for international cooperation than the outmoded and dangerous concept based on so-called "class struggle." This "new thinking" in politics must be accompanied by concrete steps aiming to reduce the possibility of force being used to resolve both political and social questions.

The trends I have outlined reassure those of us who are endeavoring to build a world where cooperation rather than confrontation prevails. We ardently hope that these and similar trends in Soviet politics bear fruit. That would benefit not only the Soviet Union but also the entire world.

However, it must be remembered that these trends cannot develop of their own accord. It is obvious to everyone that there are problems linked with their implementation. These are problems that Soviet people must resolve themselves, and we will watch their efforts and hope for success.

'Roundtable' Views China Summit, Bush Speech

LD2105194589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 21 May 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Boris Dmitriyevich Pyadyshev, member of the collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry, editor in chief of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN; Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev, member of the TASS collegium, editor in chief of TASS foreign information; and Vladimir Pasko, all-union radio commentator]

[Text] [Pasko] Hello, comrades! During virtually the whole of last week our attention was drawn to Beijing, to the Soviet-PRC summit. For almost 30 years the relations beween China and the Soviet Union, two huge countries, members of the UN Security Council, were characterized by coolness and sometimes by hostility.

What was perhaps most paradoxical was that this alienation arose and existed between countries whose peoples had taken the path of communist building, were interacting quite well in this, lived side by side, and had a good attitude toward one another. An end has been put to this unnatural situation. The leaders of the two countries have stated that the past is a closed issue now and that a new stage is beginning in Soviet-PRC relations.

The meeting in Beijing has marked the normalization of interstate relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC. At the same time it was also a meeting at the highest party level. Taking into account the role played by the communist parties in determining the policies of the two countries, it is difficult to overestimate the significance of this.

The conversations and talks in Beijing covered a wide range of problems, and what is especially important, they revealed a great coincidence and a unity of views on many issues. This holds true both for world problems and problems of present-day socialism and Soviet-PRC relations. Above all I would single out the agreement reached regarding the principles on which Soviet-PRC relations will be based from now on. These are the universal principles of interstate relations: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression, noninterference in one another's internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence.

The sides decided not to return to the relations of the fifties, but, at the same time, to free them from the confrontation of the sixties and seventies. They agreed to take measures to reduce the armed forces in the area of the Soviet-PRC border to a minimum level, corresponding to normal good-neighborly relations, and stated that they would develop mutual ties in the economic, trade, scientific, technological, cultural, and other spheres vigorously and systematically.

The leaders of the two countries confirmed that they would assist the soonest possible fair and rational settlement of the Cambodian problem by peaceful means. The Soviet side supported the PRC's position which is that Taiwan is an integral part of the PRC. The Chinese side reaffirmed that it firmly abides by the principled position of not entering into alliances with any country whatsoever. Both sides declared that neither of them lays claims to hegemony in the Asian-Pacific region or in other parts of the world. They welcome the relaxation in the international situation, which has started, and believe that it is necessary to work for a radical improvement of the world situation. In other words, the degree of agreement is very high.

[Chukseyev] You know, I would not limit the significance of these talks, of this visit, to the interests only of the two countries. Soviet-PRC relations do not exist in isolation. They are part and parcel of the intricate and diverse complex of international ties. It is therefore not fortuitous that the content and the results of the Soviet-PRC talks is now being commented upon in most countries of the world. In doing so, a problem which is of

equal concern to everyone, namely the prospects for disarmament and the normalization of the international situation, is being regarded as of paramount importance.

For instance, the French television company which set forth the Soviet proposals for lowering the military confrontation between the USSR and the PRC, commented upon them in the following way: Mikhail Gorbachev has proved again that he does not come to meetings emptyhanded. The British newspaper THE GUARDIAN wrote that the Soviet proposal to demilitarize the border is a shock for the old stereotypes of thinking.

It is impossible to pass over in silence the following fact, however: A few Western media sources, especially in the United States, in their reports from Beijing, preferred to devote more attention to the students' demonstrations than to the talks that took place there. As a journalist, I understand, of course, that a meeting attended by over 1 million people, as was the case in Beijing, is undoubtedly news. But you must agree that when after 30 years of enmity, alienation, and silence, the leaders of two great powers meet, this is news of the greatest caliber. Incidentally, attention was drawn to this by the British newspaper DAILY TELEGRAPH. It emphasized that the demonstrations by the students must not conceal the achievements of the first summit in 30 years. Relations between the two governments have been normalized.

[Pyadyshev] I think that we are now all interested in one main issue. Fine, the leaders of two great socialist powers have shaken hands after an interval of 30 years. This handshake is a symbol of the restoration of good relations, but how durable is this restoration of good relations? That is the question. We remember how Soviet-PRC relations started to go wrong. This happened somewhere after 1956, after our 20th congress, a congress which proclaimed the start of the first restructuring, which unfortunately was not taken even to the halfway point. The situation then was such that the PRC was not ready to absorb the new restructuring phenomena in the Soviet Union in the middle, in the second half of the fifties. We, for our part, possibly showed some impatience. An ideological dispute, a dispute mainly around Stalinism, around attitudes to Stalin, arose.

This ideological dispute, and I remember to this day the lengthy editorial articles in PRAVDA and other our newspapers where we set forth our ideological positions, this ideological dispute evolved into political hostility [obostrennost]. The political hostility led to armed confrontations, a build-up of arms along the Soviet PRC border. Weaponry does not keep silent. Weaponry, when it is accumulated in excessive quantities, fires, sometimes by itself, which happened 20 years ago. The events on Damanskiy Island remain in our memory.

In recalling all this, one involuntarily asks oneself the question: How stable, how lasting is the current turn in Soviet-PRC relations? There are grounds to say here that the normalization, what happened now during our general secretary's visit to China, is based on fairly firm foundations. There are good hopes that Soviet-PRC relations will develop well and promisingly.

At this point I would say that our development coincides in phase with the development now taking place in the PRC. We have restructuring and China is in the grip of reformative activity. Here we are at one historical stage, on the same historical story.

Let us go further. In the course of efforts both from the Soviet side and from the Chinese side in the past few years the main obstacles, using the Chinese terminology, which hampered the development of Soviet-PRC relations, have been removed. The Chinese leaders said that as long as the Afghan matter was not resolved, as long as the Cambodian issue was not resolved, as long as the troops were not withdrawn from the Mongolian People's Republic, and as long as the border problems of Soviet-PRC relations were not resolved, our relations with China could not have a prospect for development.

As a result of the Soviet leadership's efforts in the past few years, the Afghan issue has reached the convoluted path of its resolution. The resolution of the Cambodian matter has advanced considerably. We have now announced that in a couple of years 75 percent of the Soviet Armed Forces deployed in Mongolia will be withdrawn from there. Three of our divisions and the entire Air Force grouping are already been withdrawn.

The Fourth obstacle, the border dispute between the PRC and the Soviet Union, remains unresolved. But a border dispute is the kind of topic which is not resolved quickly. This is a problem which is a long-term one and a problem which can be resolved only with patient and joint efforts.

Therefore favorable opportunities, favorable prospects are now opening up for really stable, all-around, and broad cooperation between the two countries. It is also a matter of materializing this handshake between the two PRC and Soviet leaders, and filling the accords achieved in Beijing with specific content. The main thing, in my view, is overcoming the psychological barrier that has been created over the past 3 decades, getting used to the fact that Russians and the Chinese are no longer rivals but friends, getting down to the actual development of political contacts, and beginning broad trade cooperation.

Unfortunately, the trade between the Soviet Union and the PRC at present still looks meager against the background of vigorously developing world trade. Our trade relations amount to a mere R2 billion, which comes to no more than 5 percent of the overall volume of Chinese trade, in particular. There are opportunities and great opportunities for this. If we raise the matter once again about how firm and stable the turning point now appearing is, we can most probably say with confidence that

there are good foundations for such a turning point and for the normalization of Soviet-PRC relations and there are every grounds for expecting that our relations will make great strides forward.

[Pasko] In another part of the planet heated debate continues on how to respond to the new peace initiatives from the Soviet Union in the disarmament sphere. On Thursday [18 May] at the Vienna talks, the head of our delegation, Oleg Grinevskiy, submitted a new proposal on behalf of the Warsaw Pact countries to agree on equal levels for troops and armaments which would be significantly lower than the present forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and then to carry out the reductions. This proposal, I will remind you, was made during the visit to Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State Baker together with the report on our decision to withdraw unilaterally 500 warheads of tactical nuclear weapons from Eastern Europe.

However, as is known, this has had no effect on the U.S. stance. Despite persuasion from their allies, the United States continues to insist on the modernization of NATO's nuclear forces in Europe and turn down talks on tactical nuclear forces. In these conditions the FRG and the United States have now made another attempt to work out a compromise on this issue. Washington was visited this week by the FRG Defense Minister Stoltenberg, who, it is believed, proposed to the United States that it should not turn down talks on tactical nuclear weapons, but link them with progress at the Vienna talks on conventional forces.

France, which previously preferred to remain on the sidelines, has joined in the debate. At a press conference on Thursday [18 May] President Mitterrand made comments to the effect that there is no urgency from a technical point of view for making a decision at this time on modernization. There is still time before 1992, when these nuclear forces become obsolete, to think and discuss the issue.

[Chukseyev] Yes, you know what is typical of the U.S. stance is very likely the mood of former years. How else can one explain for instance the intolerably free and easy statement scornful in tone made by White House spokesman Fitzwater last week, claiming that the Soviet peace initiatives were just a game, and all this was not deeds but words. The leading U.S. press reacted to Fitzwater's statement with biting sarcasm. I have in front of me an article by the WASHINGTON POST commentator Richard Cohen, who writes in particular: Where is the exorcist of evil spirits when we need him so badly? Another spirit has now appeared which he should banish. It is the spirit of Andrey Vyshinskiy, the former severe representative of Stalin at the United Nations. It has obviously crept into the Bush Administration and the latter says no the whole time. It is difficult not to agree with our U.S. colleague. The time for real action, and not mutual accusations and suspicion, has long since arrived.

[Pyadyshev] One has to say that over the past week a well-known shortcoming has been observed in the policies of the Bush administration, and this shortcoming has been around the key issue of nuclear armaments on the European continent. The U.S. stance on this issue seems illogical. As a matter of fact, they are reproaching us, that is the Soviet Union, for our superiority in short-range nuclear tactical armaments, our superiority being several times over. Yes, this is really the case. We have more short-range nuclear tactical weapons than the United States and NATO on the European continent. But we are proposing talks after all to reduce the overall numbers of tactical nuclear armaments and make the numbers of these kinds of weapons level on both sides. Why then is the United States turning down such talks? Where is the logic here? The United States is perhaps only supported by the government of Margaret Thatcher. Other West European states have a rather restrained attitude on this issue. I think that the stance of Chancellor Kohl's government is playing a decisive role here. He has stated rather clearly the view of his government, the view of the FRG, to the effect that yes, the time has come to tackle an issue that remains outside the scope of agreements, that of short-range nuclear weapons. I think that the logic of the development of European events is raising both for us and NATO states the issue that the time has also come to tackle the matter of this type of weaponry, of short-range nuclear weaponry.

[Pasko] This is what's interesting. What is the U.S. position relating to other security problems in Europe?

[Pyadyshev] As for other aspects of the policies of the Bush administration, in my view they have not taken shape fully, they have not been developed fully in terms of specifics. I am returning once again now to President Bush's speech in Texas. It has been commented on rather broadly in our press, as a speech devoted to the U.S. Administration's understanding of the state of and prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations. But, in my view, there were too many emotions in the first commentaries in our press which did not make it possible to examine certain interesting things in the U.S. President's speech. Meanwhile, in his Texas speech, President Bush stressed the importance of and need for cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union in a civilized world. It sounded like an invitation to the Soviet Union for cooperation of this kind, working on the basis that the Soviet Union is ready for this by virtue of the restructuring processes occurring in our country now.

Of course we were concerned—and the emotions on our side were largely in connection with this—we were concerned by the fact that the President accompanied this invitation with a whole number of conditions, as it were, conditions that are quite unacceptable to us. For example, he gave recommendations on how the Soviet Union should resolve its territorial dispute with Japan over four islands. Of course this is quite unacceptable to us and we do not need such recommendations and advice. This is interference in our internal, and our

international affairs. But may these specific passages in Bush's speech not conceal its main point. The main point of the President's Texas speech deserves, in my view, to be studied more carefully with the appropriate, specific conclusions devoid of emotion being drawn.

[Pasko] Comrades, I would like to take advantage of your presence here in the studio today to ask you in somewhat greater detail about an event that ended in London last week. I am referring to the London information forum. Both of you were there: Boris Dmitriyevich was even at the head of our delegation at this forum.

[Pyadyshev] That discussion brought out serious interest in the innovative philosophy and the program of practical actions in the information sphere which the Soviet Union took to the London meeting of 35 states. There was a good reception for our ideas on transforming the European continent into an area of glasnost and openness, our specific proposals for developing an exchange of information that is both broad and of high quality, and for improving the conditions under which journalists work, both our own Soviet journalists working in the Soviet Union and foreign journalists accredited in Moscow, and equally, of course, Soviet journalists working in the United States, in Britain, and in other overseas states. Everything shows that the Western representatives believe our statements that the Soviet Union intends to implement firmly and in full measure the obligations that it has undertaken under the final documents of Helsinki, Madrid, and Vienna.

As a result of discussions a solid package took shape of proposals which were put forward by the delegations on behalf of the governments of the 35 states and which were also put forward by groups of journalists present at the forum and by individual journalists who had been taking part in the London discussions. I must say that for the first time in the history of the all-European process the doors of the sittings of the working groups were open to journalists. Never before has the press been admitted to the sessions of the working groups. The contributions there were interesting and full of content, professionally accurate, and invariably sharp in their form, as a result of which the discussion was more specific in character and the pitch of the discussion was sometimes raised very high.

I have to say that the contribution at one of the sessions of the forum given by Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev was a very interesting one, full of facts regarding the work of Soviet journalists in the United States where he himself worked for a long time, and it provoked considerable interest among those taking part in the forum: It was received as evidence of the openness of the approach of the Soviet press and the Soviet leadership to information issues and as evidence of the fact that Soviet journalists are prepared to come out vigorously in favor of, to demand, if you like, a serious and significant improvement in the conditions under which journalists both Soviet and non-Soviet work both in their own countries and overseas.

[Pasko] Was there any solidarity with us on this issue from the representatives of the press of other countries?

[Pyadyshev] I have to say that the situation on this forum was quite an interesting one, one that emerged perhaps for the first time in the history of international conferences of this type. I have in mind the unusual configuration of interests and joint efforts that arose at the forum. While the general bloc contours were preserved in a number of instances tendencies were seen for these to be eroded and accordingly for the all-European principle to be intensified. One proposal, in the nature of a general summing up with regard to the conditions and improving the work of journalists, was compiled by representatives of the mass information media of the most diverse countries, the United States and the Soviet Union, Bulgaria and Britain, and so on and so forth. One of those behind this amendment was Vitaliy Yakovlevich Chukseyev—his signature is on this proposal. So the London forum brought out new opportunities for developing the all-European process as such, a process which is being built not according to the traditional approach of dividing things up according to the East-West, Warsaw Pact-NATO bloc pattern, but which is being built upon some new, all-European, principles.

[Chukseyev] The discussion taking place there was of course not one between adversaries, nor can I say that it was between like-minded people in the full meaning of the word: It was rather the kind that takes place between people who have an equal interest in making their contribution to the all-European process. I think that from that point of view the forum was very successful and undoubtedly it will not pass without notice for Helsinki where these proposals are going to be discussed. Furthermore, many delegations expressed the view that a gulf or a divide must not be allowed to arise between 1989 and 1992 and supported proposals that a series of discussions of the development of all these proposals that were put forward at the forum should be set up: In particular this was helped by one of the proposals of our Soviet delegation on the setting up of an all-European information center.

[Pyadyshev] As a result of the London discussions a fairly solid package of proposals came into being: 70 documents put forward by different delegations and journalists. The majority of the proposals are undoubtedly of practical interest for ourselves, too. The delegation has made a report about the results of the forum to our leadership. A specific analysis is now being made of what was discussed in London and we are trying to pick out from these proposals those which are of greatest interest and of greatest importance for us. I think that we will agree that proposals concerning the development of cooperation in the field of the latest communications

technology resources are of the greatest practical significance. Contributions by the delegations of Britian, the FRG, Spain, and other states stressed that the revolution in information technology is universal in its nature and would be risky to find oneself cut off from its mainstream.

In connection with this, the head of the French delegation observed that within 2 or 3 years the development of cable and satellite television would move so far forward that the concern now being expressed in some countries about the effects of these types of television upon the population will be forgotten. It was said that considerations of a tactical nature restricting the introduction into everyday life of technological resources that have become elementary in other places could put a brake on the development of the countries concerned. In a word, the London information forum, which was the first link in a chain of more than 10 international conferences in the interval between the Vienna meeting and the Helsinki conference of foreign ministers due to take place in 1992, was a major and an important event, of specific importance and successful.

[Pasko] Thank you, comrades, for what you have had to say. Without any doubt the London forum brings the all-European process up to a qualitatively new level. Under discussion there essentially was the issue of how to widen mutual access to information creating conditions for the free dissemination of it. The importance of this stems from the role that information has now acquired in our life. Whatever problem we take, discussion of it always begins from the specific facts. It is generally recognized that real disarmament can be achieved when there is complete information and reliable knowledge about what is subject to reduction and elimination. Furthermore the joint drawing up and application of international standards both regarding openness and secrecy is of itself becoming a factor in the formation of a secure and stable world. Information is essential both for discussion of human rights problems and for the establishment of economic cooperation, cooperation in ecology, and indeed in all other fields. In this connection it seems to me to be appropriate to recall the words of Comrade Gorbachev in his well-known address at the UN. Today it is hardly possible for any closed societies to be preserved. This requires a resolute revision of views on the whole range of problems of international cooperation as a most important element in universal security. Openness to all-round contact with the international community, glasnost, and democratization have become the basis of our political course. Our work at the London information forum is yet further confirmation of this. At this point, comrades, allow me to conclude our meeting today. Thank you for taking part in it. All the best to you.

Reaction to 'Unique' London Information Forum

Pyadyshev Notes Humanitarian Progress

LD1605193689 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—The London Information Forum is unique for the common European process. It will promote further progress in the humanitarian sphere, head of the Soviet delegation at the forum Boris Pyadyshev told journalists here today.

"The main outcome of the information forum for the Soviet delegation is the fruitful discussions which took place in London and specific proposals for international cooperation programmes in the sphere of information exchanges," he said.

The Soviet Union favours a broad and free exchange of information, ideas and news, as well as strict fulfillment by all states of their obligations. The USSR recently elaborated and carried out measures to ease access to information to foreign journalists accredited in the country, to help them in the exercise of their professional duty.

"Our ultimate goal is to make any journalist feel at home in any country, participating in the common European process, said Boris Pyadyshev. "However, this problem can be solved only through joint international efforts."

The fruitful discussions in London produced a sizeable package of proposals on ways of improving the conditions of work of journalists, cooperation between the news media of different countries, the application of the latest advances in science and technology in the information sphere. It also includes initiatives made by the Soviet delegation on creating a common European TV news programme and instituting a European news council.

"As a result of cooperation in the field of information the grotesque 'enemy image' is gradually vanishing," said Aleksandr Lebedev, head of a sector at the Ideological Department of the CPSU Central Committee, who also attended the forum. "International relations begin to acquire realistic outlines, free from ideological bias."

Pyadyshev Briefs Journalists in Moscow

LD1705200389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A routine news briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists has taken palce at the Foreign Ministry press center in Moscow. During the briefing, journalists were addressed by Pyadyshev, head of the USSR delegation at the London Information Forum and editor in cheif of the magazine MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN. [Video shows Pyadyshev speaking, shots of journalists listening throughout]

Sharing his impressions of the forum's work, he stressed that the discussions provided further confirmation of the fact that, despite differences in basic philosophies and fundamental views between states or groups of states, it is perfectly possible to have practical agreement in a sphere that is as difficult and ideologized as information.

Results of Forum Outlined

PM1705120089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[S. Dardykin article: "Area of Equal Openness: On the Results of the London Information Forum"]

[Text] The London information forum ended. It was the first in a series of forums touching on humanitarian issues planned by the Vienna meeting. Judging by the statements of the participants themselves and commentaries in the press, it ended successfully, to the considerable surprise of those commentators who, beforehand and during the first days of the debates, were predicting irreconcilable differences.

Only recently the skeptics would most likely have been proved right. Why?

It seems to me that it is possible to simulate the scenario and suggest with a great degree of probability how such a forum would have ended had it been held 5 years or so ago. But the appropriateness of the words "had it been held" is itself highly problematic in this case. Could such a forum have taken place at all 5 years ago?—that is the question.

But let us suppose it had taken place. And something like this would have happened. The sides—East and West—would have accused each other—with good reason, they themselves would have believed—of noncompliance with the Helsinki accords, as indeed they did for many years after the signing of the Final Act. And then, with equally good reason, they would have refuted each other's accusations, describing them, to make it more convincing, as propaganda (truly the queen of proofs in recent—and even present-day—diplomatic battles). And then they would have exchanged sharp and scathing commentaries, using those very channels of information whose importance to dialogue and mutual understanding they had supposedly been discussing.

Familiar? Very familiar, to anyone who has followed the reports on humanitarian aspects of European security and cooperation. Which of us, writing on international topics on both sides, East and West, has not made his contribution to this unfading and seemingly endless dispute. Because until recently there was no sphere of relations in which disagreements were so profound and acute. Because, apart from ideological, class, and philosophical contradictions, this sphere also acted as a focus for all the distrust and suspicion accumulated in other spheres, especially the military. Just try talking about common human affairs under an ever denser canopy of missiles.

It took 4 years of our restructuring, the ideas of the new thinking which it generated had to be filled with specific content, the cause of disarmament had to get off the ground, and a joint breakthrough had to happen in Vienna, before the two sides of the gulf dividing East and West could at least converge. For the gulf has not yet finally closed so far as to make it possible for the sides to hear and understand each other even in a discussion of such a delicate subject as humanitarian contacts, including everything associated with the exchange of information.

Here let us cite the press of the country that hosted the forum, Britain. In the opinion of THE GUARDIAN, the Soviet Union displayed "a new approach in the spirit of glasnost, free from the traditional confrontation, to East-West relations." One could also cite the words of the Italian delegate: "The forum took palce against the background of the policy of glasnost in the USSR." Or of the American: "Frank and open debates took place, instead of confrontation... The conclusion of the forum is not an end, only a prelude to an era of greater mutual understanding." One could cite many more approving assessments by the "other" side and assessments of our own, also positive—on the spirit of the debate, its results, and the behavior of the partners. But let us not create the impression that the representatives of 33 European states plus the United States and Canada met in London to exchange compliments.

There were naturally disagreements on this occasion too. And arguments too, no less heated than before. But, unlike in the past, it was not a matter of "gang" warfare. The Netherlands representative, who tried to raise the question of difficulties over visas in socialist countries, was, according to newspaper reports, called to order by "his own side". It is not only in the East that there are problems with obtaining visas. The rejection of the bloc approach in favor of the common European approach—many delegates commented on this gratifying and encouraging feature of the London debates.

Hitherto, from the professional viewpoint, for journalists the sessions of conferences and meetings connected with the all-European process were divided into two categories—those they were allowed to attend, and those held behind closed doors. This time the mass media workers were not only interested witnesses but also full participants in the debates. After all, questions of direct relevance to them were being discussed. And the toughest list of complaints against the politicians were made by them.

There were also, it should be admitted frankly, fair criticisms of us. They concern visas, territories that are closed to correspondents, access to information sources, and the domestic and technical conditions of foreign journalists' work in our country. It is no justification or consolation to say that problems exist "over there" too. The fact that, for instance, Soviet journalists in general wait an unjustifiably long time for a visa to the United States, and workers from the trade union press, in particular, wait, as a rule, in vain. That in America the closed zones are mapped out in such a way as to suggest that they have just one purpose—to complicate the life and work of Soviet correspondents. The classic example

is Los Angeles, where our correspondents can go only by air, but there is no way of getting from the airport to the city itself. The two are separated by closed zones. True, the head of the American delegation promised to convey what he heard at the forum to the State Department.

It is hard to say whether Washington will listen. But perhaps regardless of this our own departments should take a critical look at their own reserves in this sphere. Especially where problems run into bureaucratic obstacles and instructions inherited from the past, from times we have left behind.

The journalists' very radical proposals (for instance, that visas and accreditations should be granted in not more than 48 hours) supplemented a range of ideas expressed in the 4 weeks of work. In all some 90 proposals were accumulated. Many of them, although one was put forward by the East and one by the West, were very similar to each other in spirit and content. The Soviet proposal for the creation of an all-European television information and cultural channel is similar to the idea put forward by Britain for the publication of a joint journal for similar purposes. Our proposal to create an all-European information council for the informal exchange of opinions with the participation of governmental organizations and the press echoes the French idea on founding a European press club.

And if you take them all together, all 90, you probably arrive at a project, if only in outline form, for turning the European continent into an area of glasnost and equal openness in the information sphere. A concept submitted for discussion by the Soviet side, and rejected by no one.

Former Officer Comments on 'Common European Home'
AU1805211289 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 18 May 89

[Commentary by Lev Kopelev, "a former officer of the Red Army, an expert on German studies of Jewish origin, who was stripped of his Soviet citizenship in 1981 and allowed to return to his native Moscow a few weeks ago"; date not given—recorded in Moscow]

[Text] The common European home—this term is being understood as a symbol, a metaphor. But as a matter of fact it is a reality, a very significant reality. This has become particularly clear after the Chernobyl disaster. We are indeed living in a common home. One thing seems particularly important to me 2 weeks after my return to Moscow. Expressions such as perestroyka—that means restructuring—democratization, glasnost, the public, and new thinking are constantly used by the people and the press. New thinking is important for Moscow, for Vienna, for the people in Frankfurt, Paris, and London. New thinking in the common European home means that the old cliches and specters have to be abandoned. In the past, people were intimidated by the specter of world imperialism in this country. Now they know that world imperialism does not exist. On the other side, people were intimidated by world communism. Even at this point, the myth of world communism is still used as an argument in the debate over the missiles, the modernization of the missiles, by a certain side.

This old thinking must be abandoned. Chernobyl, where one single reactor out of four failed, has shown that not only the people in Kiev and its surroundings were affected; people also suffered in Sweden and in Bavaria, in France and Poland. This must be realized by everybody. The term common European home must develop into the term common home of the earth. Problems can no longer be solved through violence. A few decades ago, the view still prevailed that the side that has more bombs, more tanks, or more combat aircraft could win. Today there are no longer any prospects for a military victory, a victory of violence, no matter which side should apply it. To renounce reason and tolerance, to ignore the fact that we are living in a common European home, in a common house of the planet, would involve the danger that this planet might become uninhabitable.

Building of 'European Home' Pondered
PM1805084589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by V. Zhurkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "A Common Home for Europe. Thoughts About How To Build It"]

[Text] The idea of a "common European home" is becoming increasingly popular in both the West and the East of Europe. At the same time, paradoxical though it may seem, both abroad and in the Soviet Union the question is increasingly being asked: But what is this "common European home" that we intend to build?

The idea of a "common European home" stems from the Helsinki process and is a continuation and qualitative development of it in the new historical conditions of the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st. It follows that the 33 European states and the United States and Canada will "work" on building the "common European home." The creation and development of this concept is a collective venture, requiring the efforts and consideration of the interests of all the participants.

It is clear also that the basic traits of the new system of security and cooperation in Europe, of the "common European home" will be substantially different from the content of the first stages of the Helsinki process. If it began and is still developing in the conditions of a Europe divided into military-political blocs and economic groupings, the construction of the "common European home" should gradually eliminate the continental divide.

Finally, the quest for new forms of all-European cooperation should be implemented very deliberately and cautiously, taking into account traditions and emerging

realities—so that the stability of the European situation, which has been obtained with such difficulty over recent decades, is strengthened rather than disrupted.

In view of what I have said, one might define the "common European home" as follows. It is a new system of security and cooperation stemming from and prolonging the all-European process and based on the gradual elimination of the military-political and economic split in Europe and replacement of it with effective and mutually advantageous forms of coexistence among states with different social systems in the political, military, economic, humanitarian, and other spheres, based on a balance of interests.

It is logical to suppose that the formation of the "common European home" will take place in stages. The first stage is predetermined by the Vienna decisions. It will cover the period up to 1992 and will end with a new meeting of the CSCE participants in Helsinki, starting on 10 March. This stage is circumscribed by another date—31 December 1992, after which the single domestic market of the European communities, which is intended to ensure free movement of goods, capital, services, and people in a space populated by 320 million West Europeans, comes into play. As for the CSCE process, more than a dozen international measures planned at the Vienna meeting will effectively start the formation of the "common European home's" infrastructure.

It will assume a firmer shape at the next stage, which could last until the end of the 20th century. The nineties, in the event of the successful reduction of arms, development of economic and humanitarian cooperation, and growth of mutual trust and the need for higher forms of interaction, could see new all-European consultative bodies begin to take shape. Then, at the start and in the initial decades of the 21st century, at the stage of the formation of the stable supranational organizational structures of the "common European home," the CSCE process could develop into a system of cooperation among states with different social systems.

In other words, it is a gigantic experiment in constructive collaboration between East and West in an area in which particularly favorable conditions prevail at the end of the 20th century. These conditions line up, as it were, into two rows of factors—negative and positive.

The negative row includes the superfluity of armed forces and armaments in Europe, with which both West and East have crammed Europe to an utterly unreasonable degree in the course of the arms race. It includes the threat of devastation, which not only a nuclear war but even a conventional war could inflict on the continent. Finally, the danger of an ecological disaster, equally terrible for everyone. Awareness of all these "trouble factors" is a powerful stimulus to cooperation despite ideological, social, or other differences.

There are well-known positive factors lying at the basis of all-European cooperation. The traditions of European civilization, which affect everyone. The infrastructure of treaties, agreements, conventions, and various all-European bodies, beginning with CSCE or the UN Economic Commission for Europe. The wealth of experience of collaboration and compromise. In all these respects the European zone is and, clearly, will long remain unique.

The process of building a "common European home" will develop from the simple to the complex, from the first perhaps unclear outlines to more definite structures.

In the political sphere the practical implementation of the "common European home" idea has already been going on for some years, in fact. An extraordinary, innovative system of political collaboration between East and West is taking shape before our very eyes: From increasingly frequent summit meetings promoting the solution of the chief problems of both bilateral and multilateral cooperation to an intricate complex of permanent or periodic, official and unofficial measures, the growing number of which makes political dialogue increasingly productive.

Within the framework of this system many traditional forms of political collaboration are acquiring completely new qualities. For example, summit talks. In a short period of time, in literally the last few months there have been meetings between leaders of the USSR and Austria, Italy, France, the FRG, the United States, Ireland, and Britain. M.S. Gorbachev visits the FRG in June, France in July, and Finland at a later date. For the first time since the war summit meetings are becoming a kind of permanent institution, built into the European system of international relations. In the "common European home" this institution could be multilateral as well as bilateral.

The system of interparliamentary exchanges is particularly receptive to new organizational forms of international collaboration. Particularly as Western Europe already has collective parliamentary bodies—European Parliament and assemblies of the Council of Europe and Western European Union. Unfortunately, Eastern Europe does not have such institutions—either in CEMA or in the Warsaw Pact Organization.

But even in current conditions there are many opportunities that can be easily implemented. The Council of Europe, which celebrated its 40th birthday on 5 May, now includes 23 states, practically all the countries in Western Europe. Certain East European states are also starting cautious collaboration with it in various forms. If one were to take a fresh look at matters and renounce dogmas, cooperation between the USSR and the other socialist countries and the Council of Europe (it has already begun with its assembly) could lead to the establishment of an unprecedented and truly all-European politico-organizational structure.

But in the future, I believe, we will be talking of something much bigger. Sooner or later it will be recognized that the system of military-political blocs established on the continent has performed its historical role and it is time it gave way to a more modern, civilized security system based on collective efforts. Although it is clear that this problem is very complex, that a great deal of mutual distrust has accumulated, and that the sides are sharply divided in their assessments of the balance and correlation of forces, the role of nuclear weapons, and much else.

What grounds do we have for expecting that the West will have a positive attitude toward the new Soviet approaches and that this it will be strong and lasting? What reason do we have to be confident that the West will be reasonable? Difficult questions, but I believe that in every dimension of all-European coopperation there exist spheres of mutual interest, and long-term interest at that.

The idea of a "common European home" is geared to strengthening the stability of interstate relations in Europe. Moreover, this problem is viewed both in terms of the continent as a whole and in terms of the two main subsystems that exist there—East and West. The long-standing complex of mutual relations in the West is an important element in the durability of the situation as a whole. Therefore, the Eastern side must conduct itself in such a way that this stability is not disrupted and proceed from the premise that the state and development of interatlantic relations is the West's concern. This applies equally to stability in Eastern Europe. And we have a right to expect the same approach from the West. In other words, concern for stability must be mutual, particularly as it is in everyone's interests—East, West, and nonaligned and neutral countries.

The growth of the sides' mutual trust is a very important condition of the peaceful development of the international situation in Europe. It is envisaged that the conduct and actions of each participant in the all-European process will be such that the other side is confident that the proclaimed aims are authentic, that the ways of implementing them are sensible, and that the content of the foreign policy actions is constructive. This demands constant consideration of the other sides' worries and fears and a careful analysis of the system of arguments used to justify its position and its approach to particular problems and to its entire policy. Both Western and Eastern Europe have a vital stake in such mutual trust, no matter how hard it is to achieve in our world with its decades of mutual suspicion.

In conditions of diminishing levels of armaments and growing trust and stability one of the most debated questions of modern Europe will arise again and again—the future of the military-political alliances into which it is divided. One could put it differently: overcoming military bloc confrontation. One might also say: eliminating the split in Europe. It would appear that there is a discernible possibility here of a cautious, very deliberate and well considered compromise between the two approaches. The East believes that military-political alliances are bound to die out and give way to an all-European security and cooperation system. But in the West too there is a significant consensus concerning the advisability of eliminating the split in Europe.

At the moment it is hard to predict how this process could actually develop. In all probability, as the sides become increasingly confident that security in Europe is strengthening surely and irrevocably, the blocs' military content and military structures will become blunted and will undergo erosion, and the blocs will turn into purely political alliances bringing together groups of participants in an all-European security system. A system of all-European consultations and contacts, increasingly permanent links, and all-European institutions could develop alongside them, between them. In the event of the constructive development of this process, it would lead to military-political blocs' playing an ever diminishing role in safeguarding the security of their member states. The emerging all-European system would be an increasingly reliable guarantor of their security.

As for the possible development of relations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact and the politicization of these relations, even now, today, each of the military-political alliances has strong and weak aspects.

The Warsaw Pact has the initiative in the sphere of new proposals and ideas geared to reducinmg armaments, strengthening trust, and improving the situation in Europe. The decision by the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries on a major unilateral reduction of all their armed forces and armaments has played a tremendous role.

NATO has its strong aspects. It has acquired a system of political and other bodies (committees on science, economics, the problems of modern society, a council on work with young people, the North Atlantic Assembly commissions on information, cultural links, and others), which make it a more diversified organization. The Warsaw Pact could make profitable use of this experience, it seems to me.

The idea of a "common European home" is thus acquiring increasingly distinct contours. It is not only the foundation of this home that has taken shape in the form of perfectly tangible realities. One can discern increasingly clearly both the short-term and long-terms goals of all-European building, its new forms, those that are already emerging or those that are merely conjectural at the moment, and, finally its content and political essence. All this inspires mounting confidence that the "all-European home" will be built.

Culture Official Discusses International Exchanges

18000926 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Yu. Khilchevskiy, USSR deputy minister of culture, with comment by PRAVDA culture desk: "So That There Will Be No 'Bitter Aftertaste'"]

[Excerpts] **In the USSR Ministry of Culture there was a discussion of the situation that has developed during the course of tours of the Donetsk State Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet in the United States and the factors which almost led the collective's tour to be broken off (PRAVDA, 12 March of this year, article: "Triumph With a Bitter Aftertaste"). All aspects of the matter were discussed by the ministry board and serious mistakes on the part of Goskontsert [State Concert Organization of the USSR Ministry of Culture] were revealed. In particular, they did not properly work out the contract, the financial aspects were not sufficiently studied, and so forth. The guilty parties were punished.**

But I think that this particular instance provides a serious occasion to discuss artistic exchange with foreign countries more broadly and thoroughly, keeping in mind both the present day and the future.

We are seeing a difficult but necessary process of restructuring of the entire system of cultural ties between the USSR and foreign countries, the breakdown of outdated organizational structures, and the departure from ossified stereotypes. It is primarily from the standpoint of democratization of cultural ties with foreign countries that a new model, a new concept is being developed for them today. We are interested in any suggestions for improving the organization of artistic exchange and are prepared for dialogue with anyone participating in this process.

Today Soviet state, public, cooperative, and other organizations are participating more and more actively in it. The union republics have been given considerably greater rights for independently conducting international cultural exchanges. [passage omitted]

But in any case democratization does not mean anarchy and expansion of rights should not lead to chaos, elements of which, unfortunately, are already being manifested. Thus Goskontsert concluded a contract for a tour of the United States by the Aleksandrov Academic Song and Dance Ensemble of the Soviet Army. And some time later it became clear that the Soviet Committee for Defense of Peace had already made an agreement with an English impresario for a tour of the song and dance ensemble of the MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] in the United States, and for the same dates and practically in the same cities. A similar story took place with two military collectives that were planning a tour in France. One was sent by Goskontsert and the other by the SSOD [Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Ties With Foreign Countries]. Two ballet troupes are performing in Great Britain at the same time—the USSR GABT [State Academic Bolshoy Theater] and the Belorussian GABT. The former is traveling under the auspices of Goskontsert and the latter, under a contract signed by the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] minister of culture. A "landing force" of 20 performers of the variety show of Kazakhstan arrived in Abu-Dhabi (United Arab Emirates) on 18 March. As it turned out they intended to tour five countries of the region in keeping with a contract signed by a representative of the Emirate firm in Moscow—a Sudanese citizen. But the firm itself, as it turned out, knew nothing about this and, naturally, had planned no tour. Because the artists did not even have entry visas, they returned home on the same plane, having lost "only" the money for their expensive airline tickets. As a result of the activity of a number of Soviet state, social, and other organizations, a situation has developed in which more than 15 artistic collectives intend to travel to South Korea during this season alone. It would be possible to give many other examples from the practice of exchanges recently, but I think these are enough.

The reasons for these phenomena are apparent—the lack of the necessary coordination of actions, the desire to burst into the foreign market, whatever the cost, the lack of experience in foreign work in the area of cultural ties, and sometimes a narrow departmental approach to them. [passage omitted]

The matter of coordination is one of the most important ones. I wish to point out at once that coordination as we understand it does not mean any kind of prohibition or imposition of restraints. We are speaking about keeping mutually informed about the plans for foreign activity and about their joint correction in the interests of the common cause and taking the interests of each into account. Keeping everyone informed will make it possible to avoid foul-ups and imbalances in our exchanges and undesirable competition among Soviet performers in the foreign market, and it will make it possible not to lose many millions in funds, including in foreign currency.

In recent years the interest in Soviet culture abroad has increased sharply. Let us look the truth in the eye: Art today is one of the few domestic "commodities" that can compete in the foreign market place. But the desire of most of our performers to perform abroad and the desire to earn even a little bit of foreign currency can inevitably lead to mutual torpedoing, to the "export" of Soviet art at dumping prices, and, consequently, to an undermining of its prestige in the world. And this can by no means be allowed. Nor can we fail to take into account the spiritual demands of the Soviet people who want to communicate with the best collectives and performers and have every right to do this. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, our partners abroad are sometimes simply disheartened by the avalanche of proposals for cooperation in exchanges that are piling in from Soviet

organizations—union and republic. In particular I was told this by our colleagues from the socialist countries, and from capitalist countries as well. They simply cannot "digest" such a large influx of proposals.

Certain of our performers are euphoric about the possibility of earning a lot of money by performing abroad. It apparently seems to them that in the West people are just waiting to hand them a bundle of dollar bills. But this expectation is far from justified. On the contrary, having sensed the possibility of easy money, our "partners" and "intermediaries" sometimes make offers for our artists to tour abroad that are extremely questionable from the financial standpoint.

Incidentally, the case described in PRAVDA with the Donetsk Opera and Ballet Theater in the United States occurred largely because Goskontsert did not fully clarify the issue of the partner firm's ability to pay. This is why it is extremely important for us to immediately train highly skilled organizers of tour activity both centrally and locally. Now we are very much in need of competent specialists who are familiar with the foreign market, marketing techniques, and so forth and are capable of conducting business with partners abroad. It must be admitted that sometimes our artists end up in degrading circumstances.

We are now intensively restructuring and reorganizing Goskontsert, which long ago was given the rights of a foreign economic association. The association's collective is striving to make sure that the work of Goskontsert in its new variant meets the demands of the day and that there are no annoying interruptions and snags, which have evoked justifiable criticism recently. But now Goskontsert will no longer have a monopoly on artistic exchange. [passage omitted]

The recently adopted government decisions concerning the policy for licensing operations through foreign economic ties will also contribute to demonopolization of artistic exchanges and the imposition of order in them. But the ink had not yet dried on the pages of the periodical that published the corresponding decree of the USSR Council of Ministers before there was a reaction in certain creative circles showing the lack of understanding of the essence of the decision by some of our cultural figures.

Let us first figure out methodically what licensing is. In the first place it is not a knout, it is not chains that restrict initiative and keep cultural exchanges in some kind of "bed of Procrustes." Certainly not. Leaf through the aids on international law intended for the most general reader and you will be convinced that licensing was long ago introduced into the practice of many countries of the world. Briefly, the essence of licensing is that state and social organizations, creative unions, and cooperative and other cultural organizations, agencies, and institutions could jointly and on an equal basis realize cultural contacts with foreign countries. It is directed toward distributing artistic exchanges reasonably and avoiding oversaturation of the same countries with Soviet tours (the result of which are half-empty halls which, unfortunately, we have already had). Of course, a well-thought-out system of priorities must be in effect here. Quite naturally, we must first meet the commitments that are registered in international documents on cultural cooperation.

On the other hand, the licensing system is also a preventive measure against those who are trying through their actions to create an unhealthy competition among Soviet organizations and cause harm to state interests. [passage omitted]

Generalizing all that has been said, I would like to emphasize that in this transitional stage of the restructuring of international cultural exchanges we must jointly and in the shortest possible period of time construct a mechanism which will correspond to the interests of all who are involved in their development and to the interests of our state. This mechanism should be based on a common concept of our cultural exchanges. We invite all interested state and social organizations, creative unions, and activists in culture and science to work jointly on this concept. Then the multinational Soviet art can begin to sparkle in the world with its rich pallet of colors.

Commentary From Culture Desk

It is difficult not to agree with Yu. Khilchevskiy in his evaluation of the current condition of our foreign concert activity as not corresponding to today's tasks for cultural exchanges between countries. It is also gratifying that the USSR Ministry of Culture is looking for solutions to problems that have arisen along the path to democratization of the entire process of cultural ties. Of course the present article does not answer the questions so much as it raises them. It is not clear, for example, how in practice the Goskontsert; the SSOD, the Committee for Protection of Peace; the republic cultural ministries and so forth and so on will be able to inform one another about their plans for foreign activity and the adjustments to these plans taking everyone's interests into account. Probably somebody should take responsibility for this difficult task. But who? Obviously, this cannot be any of the aforementioned organizations, for if it were they would become monopolists, and this contradicts the idea of democratization advanced in the article. So is some new, nondepartmental agency needed?

Further, in order to trade successfully it is necessary to have a commodity. And our "commodity," although it is still competitive, has dropped a good deal in the ratings. Suffice it to recall the example of the USSR GABT where the processes of crises in recent years have been the subject of truly nationwide discussion. Nor can one speak about democratization of foreign ties and forget about the fact that many of our 50 symphonic orchestras have no possibility of going abroad at all because they simply have nothing to play: The country is unable to produce high-quality instruments, and at this point only selected collectives are able to use foreign currency.

Incidentally, about currency. Up to this point an important issue for the artists has been the issue of how fair it is for various state organizations to take a significant proportion of the honorariums received by Soviet tours abroad.

A very large number of questions are generated by the subject touched upon by Yu. Khilchevskiy, and the PRAVDA editors are responding to the summons of the author of the article: for all interested parties to join in the discussion.

United States & Canada

U.S.-FRG SNF Talks Apparently 'of No Avail'

LD2005075889 Moscow TASS in English 0650 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Washington May 20 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Andrey Fedyashin: The second round of talks between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker III and West German Defence Miniser Gerhard Stoltenberg wound up here on Friday. The sides made a new attempt to resolve sharp differences between Washington and Bonn on tactical nuclear weapons [SNF] in Europe. To all appearance, it has been of no avail so far.

The West German minister's answers to reporters' questions after the meeting were very restrained. He only said that the sides "had good discussions." A State Department spokesman in turn, said at a regular news briefing that he could not give any information to journalists altogether.

It is highly symptomatic, however, that, responding to correspondents' questions if they could continue to quote statements by the secetary of state to the effect that talks on battlefield nuclear weapons would be a mistake, the State Departent spokesman said: If you intend to quote him accurately.... I do not [as received] want to make it clear to you that we are moving or are not moving or that I conceal something. To be honest, I do not know the present situation on the playing ground.

The talks between Washington and Bonn on tactical nuclear missiles will be continued next week. Judging by news agency reports, both sides are close to the possibility of a compromise on this issue, which will enable them to avoid open confrontation at the jubilee NATO council top-level session on May 29-30.

ASSOCIATED PRESS, for instance, writes, quoting government sources in Bonn and diplomatic sources in Washington, that the United States has nevertheless agreed to support the West German concept of beginning talks on reducing short-range nuclear weapons in Europe in exchange for Bonn's assurances that the talks will not aim at the total elimination of these weapons on the continent.

The United States adamantly rules out this step. AP points out that Bonn allegedly agreed to join NATO allies and support at the forthcoming session a statement to the effect that the bloc does not seek for the present full abolition of tactical nuclear weapons but only their reduction.

Secretary of State Baker this evening leaves for the President's family estate in Kennebunkport, Maine, where Bush is staying now, to inform him about the results of the discussions with Stoltenberg.

Bush, Advisers Map SNF, Arms Control Strategy

LD2005084189 Moscow TASS in English 0823 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Washington May 20 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Igor Ignatyev: U.S. President George Bush on Friday summoned to Kennebunkport, Maine, where he is vacationing now, his leading foreign policy and military advisers to discuss differences in NATO on tactical nuclear missiles [SNF] and map out strategy at the arms control talks with the Soviet Union.

The meeting involved Dick Cheney, secretary of defence, Brent Scowcroft, assistant to the President for national security affairs, Adm. William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and several other high-ranking Pentagon officials.

Marlin Fitzwater, an official White House spokesman , said that no reports or announcements will be released upon the results of this meeting. He admitted, however, that the "short-range nuclear forces issue of course is one that is under consideration right now and is driving the meeting".

The meeting was held right after the completion in Washington of the second round of talks on this issue between Secretary of State James Baker and West German Defence Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg. His goal is to get a change in the present stance of the Bush Administration which rejects the idea of early separate talks between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organisation on reducing tactical nuclear armaments in Europe.

Paul Nitze, former special adviser of the president on arms control matters, said at Congressional hearings this week that the uncompromising position adopted by the United States with regard to negotiations with the Soviet Union on short-range missiles is politically unacceptable to any West German Government. He said that the West German stance was supported by other West European NATO members. If a compromise is not struck, the present differences on tactical missiles will incur serious consequences for NATO, he warned.

The same issue will dominate the forthcoming meeting between Bush and French President Francois Mitterrand who arrived in Kennebunkport on Saturday.

Apart from the situation in NATO, Bush discussed with his advisers on Friday some details of the ongoing review of the policy in the military field. The findings of this review, which, according to the White House spokesman, is nearing completion, will put in place the groundwork for the U.S. stance at the strategic arms reduction talks with the USSR. Fitzwater said that President Bush planned to disclose some findings of the review in a speech Wednesday at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy.

Article Views Range of U.S. Attitudes on USSR

PM2205143589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 May 89 Second Edition p 7

[Correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "George Bush's Dilemmas"]

[Text] Washington, May—The headline for this dispatch had already been written when the telephone rang in the correspondents' office. The call was from Sparta in the state of Georgia. One Robert Smith was expressing gratitude for Soviet assistance in clearing the waters of Alaska of the oil pollution caused by the loss of the Exxon company's tanker.

"All my life, all my 56 years, I've lived under the Red threat," he hastened to add. "But now something unusual is happening before my eyes. First Russia is saving whales, then it is helping us combat terrible environmental pollution. And that's without even mentioning the arms reduction initiatives. So what I want to ask is: If Russia's an enemy, who's a friend? I ask you to point out without fail that the person saying this to a Soviet newspaper is Robert Smith, who is absolutely certain that the Soviet Union does not intend to attack us. I don't believe it ever had that intention..." And then he gave his address: 2939 Highland Drive, Sparta, Georgia, 30080.

...Anyone working in Washington does not need much time to become convinced that American sentiments differ. The symbolic border lies along the "Beltway"—the ring road around the city. Even sociologists acknowledge: There is one set of sentiments inside this road, and another set beyond it. Those who live beyond the "Beltway" evidently have a more solid sense of basic decency and constancy, and their spirit and common sense are stronger. The America to be found inside the "beltway" is a more complex proposition; its sentiments and views are sometimes like a weather vane.

Maybe you could say today that a kind of political "equinox" has become established in the country, a situation where the sentiments of these two Americas at least do not conflict. April 30—the traditional point marking the first 100 days of a new presidency—has been left behind. Having passed this point, the Bush administration as yet enjoys the population's favor. The President's personal popularity is high—61 percent of Americans say they approve of his activity. And why not? Bush seems to them amiable, benevolent, enthusiastic, and accessible. As is known, the human heart is a mystery, and it is difficult to say for certain where Bush the man ends and Bush the politician begins. But in any event, Americans for the moment like what they see in the master of the White House.

G. Bush has clearly been given the chance to see how the land lies. And the fact that the results of the first 100 days of his presidency were described as a "triumph of style over content" did not cause any surprise. By repeatedly stressing that he has no intention of making drastic changes in Washington's policy, the President focused attention on a style which, incidentally, contrasts strongly with that of Reagan. Take for example, such details as a 12-hour workday or impromptu trips to Capitol Hill for face-to-face conversations with legislators. In contrast to his predecessor, Bush refuses to delegate power to his advisers and deals with every more or less important problem himself.

But what is the "Bush team" like? Its members have moderate views, although tending toward right of center. In that sense they all appear to think along the same lines as the President, but there is a particularly prominent group of leading advisers—J. Baker (State Department), R. Cheney (Defense Department), and B. Scowcroft (the President's national security assistant). Not for a long time has America seen such an outwardly cohesive "triumvirate," which is linked to the President by long friendship, mutual trust, temperament, and philosophy.

All three "fought in the same trenches"—in the Ford administration—and the experience and lessons of those years undoubtedly affect their view of the world to this day. At any rate, political scientists are not at all surprised when one or another of them takes a more right-wing and harder line than the most inveterate conservatives under Reagan. Since they occupy leading posts, they are scarcely in a position to transcend the experience of the past decade—the ignominious departure from Vietnam, the surging waves of the arms race and regional conflicts, and the "ambush" the right-wingers set for G. Ford in his struggle for the White House. Skeptical opinions and cautious concepts are habits the "triumvirate" still have from those days.

The trio's role and influence in the administration are enormous. According to those in the know, G. Bush is almost entirely reliant on recommendations made by these people and nearly always carries them out. There is nothing unusual in that, of course: advisers are there to advise. The striking feature of the present situation is that presidential decisions are disconnected, as it were, and not geared to a single aim. It may be that the powerful "community" established at the top in the administration has not yet manifested itself fully and has spent the past 3 and ½ months basically "cleaning up" after its predecessors. But there is another possibility. It is possible that the President and his entourage do not have a long-term strategy and lack a clear vision of where they want to take America and how they intend to do it.

A politician through and through, G. Bush must be perfectly well aware of the dangers of the fact that, in sociologist Mervyn Field's words, he "is not yet perceived as a leader." T. Cronin, well known analyst of the institution of the presidency, agrees with Field. And this is all correct: There is a positive attitude toward the

President, but this attitude has a breaking point, because the reservoir of trust is by no means bottomless. Particularly as G. Bush's popularity is broad, but not deep, as the polls show.

Many Washingtonians I know are convinced that Americans' future attitude toward the President will depend chiefly on how the White House resolves the dilemmas in the foreign policy sphere.

No previous U.S. President has encountered in peacetime the kind of radical changes that are taking place today in the international arena. The genuine revolution in the USSR's strategic political thinking and its internal revolutionary transformations have placed on the agenda the objective need for a review of Washington's concepts that preserve the inertia of the "cold war." Some 30 years ago, the then U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson observed that Britain had "lost an empire, but has not yet found a role for itself." His country now risks ending up in a similar position unless it reviews its goals and place in a world that is not bipolar, but interdependent, bound by common political, economic, technological, ecological, and humanitarian problems.

It was assumed that the answers to many of the outstanding questions would be provided by the comprehensive analysis of U.S. policy, primarily in the sphere of U.S. collaboration with the USSR. Its preparation was announced in advance by the G. Bush administration. It is acknowledged that there is a natural and understandable need for such an analysis.

Initially there was buoyant expectation of bold initiatives, really unorthodox, original steps. But the weeks went by, the "time-out" taken by the White House in Soviet-American relations dragged on, while the administration appeared to be in a state of lethargic reverie. Moscow put forward initiatives and proposed solutions to conflicts. The Americans were forced to increasingly ask themselves a question that had become popular during last year's election—"Where's George?"

What is happening and what contours are emerging? Let us try to find out. Whereas beyond the Washington "Beltway" people are keenly interested in the Soviet reforms and are just as keenly discussing the various projects for contact with us, within it the debate is of a different character. It is reported that there are basically two camps locked in debate. One is supporters who have united under the "don't rock the boat" banner. The other brings together those who for various reasons are afraid of "missing the boat." The first camp is rather impressive, since it includes R. Cheney, B. Scowcroft, and some figures who are of lesser rank but are equally vigorous in their hardline conservative views of Soviet-American relations. The second, as well as a number of legislators and experts like G. Kennan and P. Nitze, includes J. Baker and J. Sununu, head of the presidential apparatus.

But who really knows the internal mechanism of collaboration and antagonism among the power elite, aside from the participants themselves?

In theory, the foreign policy analysis is still going on. However, clearly aware of the need to neutralize the rather widespread view that it is not he who is controlling events and that his caution smacks more of indecision, G. Bush made an "ahead-of-schedule" program statement on Soviet-American relations. It would appear to be no accident that it coincided with J. Baker's return from his first official visit to Moscow, the idea of which was to mark the end of the pause in bilateral dialogue and the start of active diplomacy. On the eve of the speech White House aides were reporting in confidential tones that G. Bush wanted to display a "speedy reaction" to Soviet reforms and initiatives and an intention to "build on the work" done in Soviet-American relations in the past.

If that was indeed the plan, little came of it. The political "thunder" was rumbling in Moscow before Baker's departure, when the Soviet side announced new initiatives in the sphere of short-range nuclear weapons and conventional armaments. The U.S. delegation appeared to be caught unawares and the administration was again in the posture of the passive party.

Although for very obvious reasons J. Baker and the other presidential advisers did their utmost to play down the significance of the new Soviet steps, their efforts did not have much effect. G. Bush's Texas speech was inevitably compared with the dynamics of USSR foreign policy. And the comparison was not in favor of the White House. Even if one assumes that the President deliberately ignored Moscow's message, his utterances are still not distingished by either boldness or a wish to shake off prejudices.

How do they express themselves? In the thesis that is constantly being plugged—namely, that there is no need to hurry with an agenda of vigorous actions, and it is far wiser, as a "senior official spokesman" for the administration who wished to remain anonymous asserted, to "stand firm and see what concessions the Soviet Union is prepared to make." Incidentally, it is reported that, in accordance with this political line, the secretary of state deliberately failed to take any substantive new ideas with him to Moscow, intending merely to "put Bush's stamp" on Soviet-American relations by shifting the emphasis from arms control to regional problems.

In his speech the President appeared to have kept the basic outline of the Soviet-American agenda established at summit meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan. But if it is true that the "devil hides among the details," our saying "trust, but verify," which caught R. Reagan's fancy, would come out as "do not trust, but verify," if said by Bush. As for Reagan's remark that "it

takes two to tango," not a trace would remain of it. We are being directed to "dance" alone, because, apparently, the Soviet Union is acting "from a position of weakness."

Strange logic, to say the least, that runs counter to the urgent demands of the times.

...Some time in early March Bush personally drew up some instructions on the purpose and content of the foreign policy analysis. Advocating an examination of fundamental national security issues, he pointed out: "I do not expect that a new strategy for a new world will be obtained as a result of this analysis." It appears that the presidential command was observed. But what was the sense in spending so long climbing the mountain, only to careen down it again? If the United States intends to rely on the same postulates as in the past 40 years, it runs the risk of being left in a foreign policy ocean with a dud compass. A unique opportunity to to halt the "cold war" once and for all and put Soviet-American relations on the lines of long-term constructive cooperation would be lost. History, as is known, rarely has time for those who will not learn its lessons.

U.S. Attempting To Undermine Soviet Initiatives

LD2205185889 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 22 May 89

[Commentary by TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov]

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

The way Washington has been stressing different aspects of its foreign policy lately appears to be strange indeed. On the one hand, the Soviet-American dialogue has been resumed and is evolving, which is, of course, a positive and heartening development. On the other hand, one cannot help being put on one's guard by the habit of certain quarters in the U.S. to call into question any Soviet intentions in the field of arms control, without, however, introducing any constructive elements into that dialogue.

Want facts? Here you are.

During the recent Soviet-American talks in Moscow, agreement was reached to resume in June in Geneva a dialogue on the problem of strategic nuclear arms reduction. A positive development undoubtedly, and it is precisely the way it is evaluated by international, including American, public. Still however, Washington did not pass up this opportunity to throw a fly into the ointment, making it appear that even if the strategic arms limitations talks resume, it will only be because the USSR "has yielded to the expostulations" on the part of the U.S. It is as if the authors of this version do not know that even at the Vienna meeting of ministers the Soviet Union urged a resumption of talks—and an immediate resumption at that...

Our country tables in Vienna new major proposals to drastically reduce already by 1996-1997 the armed forces and armaments of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO in Europe. Both in Europe and elsewhere the initiative elicits a broad positive response and many watchers justly perceive it as an important step to meet the West. And what about Washington? There the Soviet proposals are either hushed up or pronounced to be "inconsequential."

The Soviet Union advocates liquidation of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, it declares it will unilaterally withdraw from the territory of its allies 500 tactical nuclear warheads and is prepared to withdraw all of them if the U.S. follows suit. And what's the answer? It is, predictably, this: Washington favours developing and sending to Europe modernised U.S. "Lance-2" U.S. [as received] As regards the Soviet proposals, they are, in the words of U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney, a "ploy" and in the words of Vice-President Quayle—a "propaganda move"?

To what purpose?

The i's were dotted by the self-same Quayle, who, speaking recently in Washington and in a bid to cast aspersions on the new Soviet foreign policy initiatives, asserted with disarming frankness that Gorbachev's popularity in the West erected extra hurdles for the United States, making it difficult for the United States to achieve its task of getting public approval needed to retain some of its defence positions.

So that's where the shoe pinches (exclamation). It is not some mythical "insidious plans" and schemes of Moscow that cause the concern of some of the architects of U.S. foreign policy—they are alarmed by the broad and growing public support which the Soviet policy is receiving everywhere, including in the United States.

Well, the fact remains: An ever growing number of sober-minded politicians, parliamentarians and public figures are now actually giving due to Moscow's foreign policy and at the same time express surprise, nay even disquiet over Washington's passive and often unconstructive postures, especially on matters of disarmament. It would seem that the way out for the U.S. Administration is clear: to demonstrate its desire to seek and find solutions to the overdue problems in deeds...

But some people in Washington, judging by Quayle's utterances, would wish to take a different road. Without offering any positive constructive ideas, they busy themselves with zealously undermining the ideas and initiatives put forward by others. This tactic is not new. Nor will it bring any dividends to its initiators.

Fitzwater Skepticism Toward USSR Criticized

PM1805140789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "White House Statement"]

[Text] Washington, 17 May—The White House issued a statement on Tuesday which essentially represented an attempt to cast doubt on the sincerity of the Soviet Union's desire to ease international tension and to portray Moscow's peace initiatives in a distorted light.

As White House Press Secretary M. Fitzwater asserted at a routine meeting with journalists, the arms control proposals put forward by the Soviet leadership recently "are, in fact, not what they seem." In his words, these Soviet peace initiatives, which envisage concrete disarmament steps, "are merely words, not deeds," and the United States continues to wait for "evidence" and is "very suspicious" of the USSR's intentions.

How can that be, the White House press secretary was asked, when in the period since the presidential election last November alone the Soviet Union has announced the unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces, has taken the decision to halt production of highly enriched weapons-grade plutonium this year, and has put forward new proposals on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, and yet "the President is still talking about deeds, not words." "What deeds is Bush himself offering in reply? Gorbachev has put forward a whole series of proposals, but I don't remember Bush answering (them) with deeds rather than just words," one journalist pointed out to the White House spokesman.

The explanations Fitzwater offered in reply amounted to saying that these USSR peace proposals are nothing but a "ploy" aimed at winning over public opinion. Some observers here view such comments by the official White House spokesman, voicing "skepticism and even hostility," according to ABC-TV, as evidence of "a certain confusion and concern in official Washington" at the broad response aroused in the world by the USSR's disarmament proposals. The White House's "verbal onslaught," a CBS-TV commentator noted, is "a sign of growing despair." President Bush, in CBS' words, "already finds himself under increasing pressure to at least counter to some extent the Soviet leader's recent arms control proposals." But instead of concrete proposals in this sphere, the White House clearly prefers to limit itself to rhetoric.

Bessmertnykh Receives U.S. Ambassador

LD2205132589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 May (TASS)—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, invited the U.S. ambassador in the USSR, Jack Matlock, for a conversation today. Under discussion were certain current aspects of bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations.

U.S. Spokesman Views Situation in China

LD2005210889 Moscow TASS in English 2059 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Washington May 21 TASS—"The U.S. supports freedom of speech, association and peaceful assembly" the Presidential spokesman said on Saturday commenting on the latest developments in China. He spoke in Kennebunkport in the state of Maine where the U.S. President is presently vacationing, the UPI reported.

The spokesman said that the United States hoped for a possible dialogue between the government and students, and for restraint to be exercised by both sides in their relations.

China

Sino-Soviet Ties Key to Asia-Pacific Peace

PM2205173189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov article under the rubric "The View From Moscow": "For the Good of Mankind"]

[Text] The Beijing summit marks the normalization of interstate relations between the Soviet Union and China.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of this event. Relations between two of the world's major countries with the longest land border are returning to normal. They are acquiring a stable, sound basis consisting of three components. These are: first, the generally recognized principles of interstate relations—mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression, noninterference in internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence; second, cooperation in economy and culture, and an active political dialogue at all levels and in all spheres, including the state and social sphere; and third and last, collaboration in solving topical international problems. The Soviet Union and China have their priorities, of course, and their stances do not always coincide. However, there is broad scope where such cooperation is both possible and expedient. This applies, above all, to their joint contribution to the solution of the global problems of the present time and the strengthening of peace and security in Asia. Today I would like to dwell specifically on this third aspect of the normalization.

The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will open up more fully the opportunities for our countries' collaboration for the good of all mankind. It is part of the mainstream of positive changes in international developments and at the same time it serves to boost these changes. After all, by meeting each other halfway, the USSR and China have disproved conjectures about the inevitability of prolonged hostility between them. Jointly they have eliminated a seat of tension in Asia that was

causing justified concern among peoples, and in this way they have made a tangible contribution to strengthening regional and global security.

In the implementation of their policies, both our states proceed from the premise that peace and development are the main issues of the present time. The concept of the new international political order put forward in Beijing largely accords with our notions of new political thinking. By implementing an independent, autonomous foreign policy, favoring the elimination of mass destruction weapons, opposing the militarization of space, condemning foreign military presences on other countries' territory, and backing the creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace, the PRC is exerting a positive influence on the world climate.

In an effort to lower the level of military confrontation in Asia and the Pacific, the two neighboring socialist states have boldly embarked on unilateral measures. China has reduced the numerical strength of its armed forces by 1 million men and has substantially cut its military budget. The Soviet Union has agreed to eliminate its intermediate-range missiles not just in Europe but also in Asia; it has declared that it will not increase its nuclear weapon potentials in any category in Asia and the Pacific; it has decided unilaterally to reduce its armed forces in the Asian part of the country by 200,000 men; and it has expressed readiness to withdraw three-fourths of the Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia.

Despite the fact that the reduction of military potential has not yet become a general trend in Asia and the Pacific, the positive changes taking place in the world have left their mark here, too. The USSR has fulfilled the accords signed on Afghanistan strictly on schedule. Three months have elapsed since the last Soviet soldier left that country. And it is only because the other parties to the accords are violating the commitments they have adopted that blood is still being spilled on the soil of Afghanistan, which has suffered so much. Essentially, the Pakistani military is trying to launch an open aggression against the neighboring country.

Preconditions for the solution of the Cambodian problem have multiplied. A fundamentally important step toward this end will be the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from the country by late September of the current year. The participants in the Beijing meeting reaffirmed that they would continue to contribute to a just and sensible settlement of the Cambodian problem by political means; they pledged to respect the results of the general elections that are to be held in that country under international supervision; and they expressed themselves in favor of the convocation of an international conference on this question at the earliest possible date.

Shifts toward the solution of the problems of the Korean peninsula have also been achieved. The USSR and the PRC support the efforts of the DPRK Government aimed at the peaceful unification of Korea. This would be facilitated by an inter-Korean dialogue, a lowering of the military confrontation between North and South, and the withdrawal of foreign forces from South Korea, whose presence there is unjustifiable.

The quest for sensible and just solutions to conflicts that have existed for many years is difficult, of course. However, these processes are gathering momentum. Political life in Asia and the Pacific is marked by a new dynamism. According to the Chinese weekly BEIJING ZHOUBAO, the Soviet-Chinese normalization will promote the development of relations between China and India, India and Pakistan, China and Vietnam, and the Indochinese states and the ASEAN countries.

The question of realizing the dream of firmly establishing in interstate relations the simple laws of morality and justice by which people are guided is acquiring increasing urgency both in the Asia-Pacific region and in the world as a whole. In this context it is very instructive to take a look at the important place ethics have occupied in China's spiritual culture from time immemorial. After all, even back in the times of Confucius and Mencius the Chinese believed that the "Ren" principle, that is humaneness, must serve as the basis of human relations. Now that the international community has reached a critical point, this is even more essential than 25 centuries ago. To ennoble politics by setting high ethical standards in order to meet the challenge of the times in a worthy fashion—this, in my opinion, is the main goal of the new international political order.

Asia, which has a very rich spiritual heritage and has been the cradle of many sociophilosophical and moral and ethical teachings, is playing a fruitful role in the quest for new approaches to interstate relations. In this part of the world where Zhou Enlai and Jawaharlal Nehru formulated the "Panchasilla" principles, where the Bandung principles were born, many constructive initiatives of a peace-loving tenor are being advanced in our time.

India favors progress toward a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. Indonesia and its neighbors are vigorously advocating the idea of transforming Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality. Mongolia is persistently striving to establish the principle of nonuse of force in the region. The DPRK is advocating a nuclear-free status for the Korean peninsula.

It is noteworthy that recently U.S., Australian, and Japanese politicians have come forward with very similar proposals for creating a mechanism for multilateral consultations in the region. In the Asia-Pacific region there are so far no negotiating structures on the lines of those through which the all-European has been gathering momentum so confidently in recent years. This is why the proposal of a group of U.S. senators to create a "Pacific Forum" is so interesting.

Such a mechanism for multilateral consultations would make it possible to discuss all the vital problems of the region including prospects for the reduction of military tension, which are difficult, if not impossible, to resolve on a bilateral basis. This applies especially in the Asia-Pacific region, where there is not just one but several lines of military confrontation. In these conditions a dense network of confidence-building measures, including multilateral measures, is needed. I would like to stress that it would be unproductive to implement the idea of such a regional forum on a selective or, worse still, on a discriminatory basis. The predilection for all kinds of triangles or other geopolitical structures on the lines of the "odd man out" game is not in keeping with the spirit of the times. Figuratively speaking, a polygon with an unlimited number of sides is much more in line with present-day conditions. Crucial problems demand an internationalization of the efforts to resolve them. This applies not only to problems relating to security, but also to environmental protection problems, elimination of the consequences of natural disasters, the prevention of incidents on air routes and in the sea lanes, and measures to combat international terrorism.

In his address to the Chinese public, M.S. Gorbachev asked the following question: Has the time not come to begin, by means of joint efforts of all the interested states with UN support and assistance, what could be described as the all-Asian process? This idea has not yet met with a positive response everywhere. Clearly, the opinion of those Asian politicians who believe that the approaches to the strengthening of security that originated in Europe cannot be transplanted to Asia must be heeded. However, no matter how much Asian conditions differ from European conditions, it is beyond doubt that the problems of security, trust, and cooperation in this part of the world are just as urgent. After all, whereas Europe is enjoying peace for the fifth decade since the victory over fascism, in Asia flashpoints of regional conflict are constantly flaring up or smoldering away.

Meanwhile the center of gravity of world political and business activities is shifting to the Asia-Pacific region. The coming century has, not without reason, been dubbed the Pacific century. Consequently, the situation in the world will depend largely on the shape of the relations between the states in this region. The once-popular formula: "East is East, West is West, and never the twain shall meet" went out with the era of colonialism. The fate of West and East, of North and South is indivisible when it comes to security guarantees and prospects for prosperity. And the increasing role of the Pacific in world affairs does not signify an upending of the former pyramid whose pinnacle was the Atlantic world, but rather a gradual replacement of the hierarchy which operated along the vertical by relations of interdependence where horizontal ties between equal partners predominate. In this kind of structure there is no danger of the Atlantic world being allocated a place of secondary importance in order to make room for the Pacific. There will be room for everyone at the front.

Soviet-Chinese cooperation and collaboration could become an important factor in the trends toward integration in the Asia-Pacific region and act as a stimulator of the all-Asian process.

PRC-USSR Ties Can Speed Asian Economic Integration
LD2205211689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As the world mass media are actively discussing the outcome of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's official visit to China, we have invited Vsevolod Ovchinnikov, PRAVDA political observer, to the Vremya program studio. He has just returned from Beijing, and here is his view of what the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations can bring us and the world.

[Ovchinnikov] We will, no doubt, have to return to this event more than once in order to get a full understanding of its significance. Today I would like to touch on just one of the possible consequences of the Soviet-Chinese normalization: Its role as a catalyst of the common Asiatic process. Prominent Beijing scholars have told me that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is particularly important against the background of new tendencies in the world of economic ties. First, the main center of ecoomic activity is shifting more and more noticeably from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean basin. Second, a natural response to the formation of a common European market and the American-Canadian free trade zone has been an attraction towards integration in the Asia-Pacific region also. Chinese economists regard the idea of regional cooperation in Northeast Asia as highly promising. They name China, the USSR, Japan, and North and South Korea as its possible participants. The idea is to use Chinese manpower and Japanese and South Korean technology and capital to develop Soviet natural resources. My collocutors said that were the decision taken to establish a free enterprise zone in Soviet Primorye, China would be interested in participating in its development.

For 3 decades it was as if our countries were divided by a wall. But today, they can, figuratively speaking, play the role of a bridge. People in Beijing believe that in the 1990's a significant activization of economic cooperation between Europe and Asia should be expected. And the new forms of cooperation between China and the Soviet Union could play an immense role here. The prospect is opening up before our two countries of becoming, as it were, the supports of a bridge between Europe and Asia and between the Atlantic and the Pacific Ocean basin. And these are no longer just dreams, but plans that are beginning to be implemented. Moscow has provided China with credit for the construction of a railway line in Xinjiang that will bring together the transport networks of the two countries and be the shortest route from China to Europe, in the image of the great Silk Road of ancient times.

By taking strides towards each other, the USSR and China have refuted conjectures on the inevitability of prolonged hostility between them. In this way they have jointly removed a serious center of tension in Asia and have made a weighty contribution to the strengthening of peace and stability in the region.

The political life there has obviously taken on a new dynamism. A Chinese-Indian summit meeting has been held, the political dialogue between Beijing and Hanoi has been resumed, the countries of Indochina and members of ASEAN are taking steps towards one another, the political settlement in Cambodia is taking on a real shape, and new approaches to the problems of the Korean peninsula are emerging. The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations reflects the overall trend of all these changes and, at the same time, stimulates them. The interaction between our countries can become a force accelerating integrational tendencies in the Asia-Pacific region and a catalyst for the common Asiatic process. [video shows Ovchinnikov in studio throughout]

Beijing Summit, U.S. Asia Policy Viewed
PM2205120789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by observer Aleksandr Golts under the rubric "World Today: Problems and Arguments": "Fewer Walls, More Cooperation"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev's visit to China has just ended. And, in analyzing the results of that trip, there is just one thing you regret: The true meaning of the word "historic" is gradually being eroded in our consciousness from overuse. Yet, after all, in those May days in Beijing events took place which cannot fail to go down in the history of our two countries. Relations between two great socialist powers—the Soviet Union and China—finally became normal and an end was put to the period of confrontation that had dragged on for three decades.

It seems to me that the entire course of this visit, the meeting with Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, PRC President Yang Shangkun, CPC Central Committee General Secretary Zhao Ziyang, and State Council Premier Li Peng showed that the potential for positive development has been put into operation in our countries' relations. It was this potential M.S. Gorbachev had in mind when he spoke of the three "yeses" that lie at the foundation of the Soviet approach to relations with the PRC.

"Yes" to universally accepted principles of international communication like mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression and noninterference in internal affairs, equal rights, mutual advantage, and peaceful cooperation. This approach is shared by the Chinese side. And it leads to the deepening of mutual understanding and trust and will enable our countries to concentrate on peaceful creative labor.

Here, in my view, it is very important that in recent years both sides have taken steps to reduce military confrontation along our longest border. The PRC has cut its armed forces by 1 million men. The Soviet Union has also reduced the numerical strength of its troops in the Far East and undertaken unilaterally not to increase ground-based and air-based nuclear weapons. In 1989-1990 the grouping of Soviet troops in the eastern part of the country will be reduced by 200,000 men, including 120,000 in the Far East. Soviet troops will be reduced by 12 divisions, 11 air regiments will be disbanded, and 16 warships are being withdrawn from the Pacific Fleet.

These are not just intentions. The latest reduction of Soviet troops in Mongolia began recently: It has been decided to withdraw from that country three full divisions, including two armored groupings and an entire aviation grouping. The restructuring of the structure of the troops along the Soviet-Chinese border is also underway so that they will accord in full with the principle of sensible defense sufficiency.

But even these measures may be only harbingers of radical changes in the military-political situation. The USSR has expressed the readiness to withdraw all its troops from Mongolia after agreement with the Mongolian side. Moreover, the Soviet side is ready, on a basis agreed with China, to withdraw a military contingent and arms from the border regions, leaving behind only the personnel necessary to carry out ordinary border service.

The Soviet Union's second "yes" is yes to cooperation in the economy and culture, to active political dialogue at all levels and through all channels—both state and public. During the visit impetus was given to movement in all these directions, each of which deserves a talk in itself.

Finally, we said "yes" to our countries' collaboration in resolving topical international problems. Here it is by no means a compulsory condition that the viewpoints of the USSR and the PRC should coincide fully on all points. But there is a broad field where such collaboration is both possible and expedient. Even the very fact of the calm discussion of acute international problems and the search for points of contact and approaches is of considerable importance. This was immediately assessed throughout the world. It is no accident that Thai Foreign Minister S. Sawetsila noted that the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting is of very great importance for resolving the Cambodian problem. And Pak Chun-kyu, chairman of the ruling Democratic Justice Party of South Korea, believes that it will have no less importance in ensuring stability on the Korean peninsula.

For all the perfectly understandable differences in assessments of this visit by political and public figures, positive assessments predominate. The very fact that bilateral relations have been normalized has been widely

approved. Official representatives of the U.S. Administration have also made similar statements. But THE NEW YORK TIMES has noted that, while cautiously welcoming the Soviet-Chinese summit, U.S. officials are also indicating a certain "danger."

What "danger" could there be, it might seem, if during the visit it was repeatedly stated that the improvement of our relations is not and cannot be aimed against third countries, that there is not and cannot be any infringement of their interests. What exactly worries Washington is explained by a report published by one of the administration's brain centers, the Rand Corporation. "Gorbachev's visit," this document indicates, "will be the latest step in eliminating the 'strategic triangle,' the existence of which served as the basis for the development of Sino-U.S. and Soviet-U.S. relations throughout most of the seventies. The main prerequisite was the hostile relations between China and the Soviet Union."

In other words, it was a case of using the notorious "China card" in global politics. Now an end is coming to this policy which, especially in the Asia-Pacific region, was built on the rather primitive principle of "against whom are you forming friendships?" It is now obvious that the United States, which for a long time played on Soviet-Chinese confrontation, can no longer lay claim to the role of "guarantor" of strategic, socioeconomic, and political security in Asia and the basins of the Pacific and Indian oceans. There is no security built on the "divide and rule" principle. And genuine security can be ensured only through the efforts of all states of the region.

Yes, that is evidently precisely what frightens some people in Washington, where they are totally reluctant to abandon their former claims. U.S. Vice President D. Quayle's recent tour of Pacific countries was evidence of this. "Rumors of the United States' possible withdrawal from the region," he assured his interlocutors, "have nothing in common with reality. Nothing will make us do that and abandon our defense commitments." And that's that—even when the countries Washington has undertaken to defend would like it. "If the Philippines want to throw us out of our Subic Bay and Clark Field bases," Quayle announced with striking frankness, "we will find an alternative place to remain in the region."

Indeed, reduction of the number of troops on foreign lands so far forms no part of the Pentagon's plans. That is why, in response to a request to comment on the statement in Beijing that the U.S. military presence in South Korea is unjustified, a State Department spokesman said the United States sees no need for changes. It was not least its desire to preserve its strategic structures despite all the changes on the Asian scene that caused the buildup of military preparations. It is not for nothing that Admiral Hardisty, commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, has stated that "our forward-based forces are the glue that seals our alliances." But Washington is aware that in the present situation military pressure alone is no longer enough. And so appeals to link the military and economic approaches have been heard persistently from Washington recently.

And here Tokyo is rushing to Washington's assistance. While in principle approving the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations as an important factor of peace and security in the region, the Japanese leaders, like the U.S. leaders, also have "fears." That is why, after announcing his resignation, Prime Minister Takeshita set off for the ASEAN countries. After all, as YOMIURI points out, this trip "is of great importance from the viewpoint of the change in the situation in the region that will inevitably come about as a result of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, the settlement of the Cambodian problem, and the activation of foreign policy." As an alternative, Takeshita put forward the at first glance attractive "international cooperation initiative" which provides for the consolidation of peace, the rendering of economic aid to developing countries, and the expansion of international cooperation. But the political context of his statements puts us on our guard. It is obviously no accident that he emphasized the need to create "an open system of free trade." In the past it was precisely such appeals that concealed the aspiration to cut off from integration processes states belonging to a different social system, thus reinforcing existing military ties by economic means.

As we can see, there are still many walls dividing the peoples in the Asia-Pacific region; and, in ensuring general Asian security, we must destroy them. It is hard but perfectly realistic to do this. As the results of the summit meeting in Beijing have shown, the fewer walls there are, the more scope there is for cooperation.

Youth Paper Views Summit, PRC Demonstrations

PM2205151189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 89 p 3

[Special correspondent A. Platkovskiy report: "Beijing Days and Nights"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev's visit to China has ended. The talks between the two countries' leaders have brought long-awaited clarity to the future of USSR-PRC and CPSU-CPC relations. From now on we will be good neighbors and equal partners. The past is finished with. It took 4 days—and years of intensive work on clearing away obstructions from the past—to make this historic step. Our special correspondent A. Platkovskiy reports from the PRC capital.

During these same recent days the demonstrators in Beijing and other Chinese cities have been putting forward for discussion the question of the future of the reform policy, which has come up against complex problems as it enters its second decade.

These events have coincided. The journalists covering the summit meeting are faced with the difficult task of how to combine them in print and on air. Both require particular attention and separate interpretation. In addition, the complex situation in the city made it necessary to change the program of the visit.

The events taking place on the Beijing streets did not hinder the two party leaders in reaching a mutual understanding; on the contrary, I am convinced that they helped them. During the talks, it was recognized that the USSR and China were both equally responsible for the rise in socialism's prestige and equally interested in implementing the advantages of our system. A coincidence in approach to the problems that have confronted our parties and countries at crucial stages of development was also revealed.

The security service has its job to do. A meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and city inhabitants had to be organized. But how? There were demonstrators on the streets, and there was very definite emotional tension. And yet the meeting did take place on a Beijing street. And the inhabitants are now talking about it with gratitude and discussing it. I saw many of the student demonstrators wearing headbands with the two characters "Lao Ge" on them. "Lao" is the deferential but unofficial way of addressing a respected older person. "Ge" is the first character of the Chinese transcription of Mikhail Sergeyevich's surname. At the Great Wall of China, M.S. Gorbachev had another unplanned meeting—one with young people.

And now about what is happening in Beijing.

"This is like a general strike. How will it all end?" a 50-year old passerby wondered aloud. Hundreds of people were walking along the downtown Chayi An street toward Tiananmen Square. It seemed as though the whole city had come out onto the streets. The demonstrators were expressing their support for the student movement.

A gray-haired old man looked sadly at the columns passing by. "I'm reminded of the 'Cultural Revolution,'" he told me. "Millions of Red Guards received the order then to 'open fire on the headquarters.' Of course, times are different now. But I can't agree with those who criticize our leadership. That is the easiest thing to do. We should respect the achievements of those who started the reforms in China."

A young man was holding a large portrait of Mao Zedong in his hands. "He was a great man and I respect him, although he, too, made mistakes. But he served the people honorably."

"Unfortunately the young people have only a dim recollection of how difficult times were in the 'nine years of chaos,'" a teacher from one of the institutes of higher education in Beijing told me. "Now the most important thing is that we all stick together and strengthen our unity." The newspaper ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO interviewed 75 Beijing inhabitants on the street—workers, employees, doctors, teachers, peasants, and salesmen. The overwhelming majority considers the student movement fair, patriotic, and expressive of the people's will.

Yesterday was the sixth day of the students' hunger strike. More than a thousand have already been hospitalized. The newspapers reported that CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee members led by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, visited the students in the hospital and confirmed that the students' movement has a patriotic character.

Other major Chinese cities—Tianjin, Canton, Chengdu, and Wuhan—are beset by demonstrations, according to press reports. In Shanghai 60,000 students organized a sit-down demonstration and 500 announced a hunger strike.

As I transmit these lines, a report about the beginning of dialogue between the government and the students is being broadcast on television.

Continuing Beijing Unrest, Protests Reported

Military's Role, Student Demands Noted

LD2205203789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 22 May 89

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Sergey Pravdin]

[Text] [Announcer] Listen to what our correspondent Vladimir Kulikov reports from Beijing.

[Kulikov] The streets and thoroughfares of the Chinese capital look unusually deserted today, with the exception of the central (?Changan Jie) and Tiananmen Square, where student demonstrations are continuing. To the slogans and posters hung in the city's streets calling for an expansion of democracy and acceleration of the reforms, new posters are being added. Generally they concern the Army: "The people and the army are united," "The army and police are children of the people," "Students and the military are all one family." As far as one can judge, the focus of the events has moved to the outskirts of Beijing where student detachments are trying to monitor those who leave and enter the city, in the event of the arrival in Beijing of the of military units stationed in the suburbs. Comrade Li Peng, the premier of the State Council, spoke about the possibility of intervention by the army in the situation that has been created when he spoke at the recent meeting of party and army staff. In the city institutions, enterprises and shops are continuing to operate. In general, life is going on normally. Tension, however, is

growing since, owing to the fact that transport is almost completely at a standstill, blue and white collar worker must spend long hours getting to work.

Yesterday evening on Beijing Television Comrade Zhang Baifa, the deputy mayor of Beijing, spoke. He spoke about the difficult problems facing a 10 million strong city, problems that have come about as a result of transport services being disrupted and the stoppages of many enterprises. For the moment some of those difficulties are making themselves felt among the city's residents. Deliveries of newspapers have been interrupted, prices on the city markets have slowly crept upward, and lines are forming outside grocery stores. I have just travelled past Tiananmen Square, the epicentre of the action. The students' hunger strike ended a few days ago, but the movement's activists have just as before made themselves comfortable in buses, under the shelter of temporary tents, and simply on the stones of the square. Most frequently the appeal to the government to organize and show a direct television broadcast of the dialogue between representatives of the students and the leaders of the country is repeated. The students are decisively demanding that an end be put to corruption. They propose this campaign be started by bringing out into the clear, as it says in one of the appeals, the children of the country's highest leadership who are involved in corruption. They demand that the privileges of the highest ranking cadre staff be abolished, and similar measures.

The students are demanding disavowal of the RENMIN RIBAO article that described the student moment not as democratic but as a mutiny against order.

Army Not Attempting To Enter Beijing

LD2305090289 Moscow TASS in English 0836 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 23 TASS—By TASS correspondents Marat Abulkhatin, Gennadiy Krivosheyev and Oleg Mastryukov:

Beijing was calm overnight. Troops from among the Beijing Military District, called to maintain martial law and stationed in rural areas around the capital, did not attempt to enter the city.

Numerous barricades, made up of lorries, buses, reinforced concrete pipes, and other building materials were set up in the evening on Monday on all main roads leading into Beijing and inside the city boundaries. People's squads for the maintenance of order operated at many road junctions, stopping the few vehicles to check their occupants.

In what has become a usual occurrence, students and young workers as well as some Beijing residents—about one million people in all—came to Tienanmen Square and the nearby streets in organised columns carrying streamers and placards.

They held meetings and discussions, chanted slogans, and sang the Internationale. Public order in the central square and the streets was maintained by young people themselves. No cases of rowdy behaviour, robberies or violence were observed.

At dawn the barricades were removed and people left Tienanmen in an organised way. Remaining in the square are activists who are using several dozen buses, army tents and makeshift huts as provisional housing. The square is decked out with flags, pennants, streamers and placards. Students are holding meetings and discussions in various parts of the square. At the same time groups of young people work to remove litter.

Hundreds of students who have rushed to the city to support the demonstrations periodically march through the central streets of the capital. Young people continue to arrive in the capital from other cities. At the same time, some students who arrived earlier can be seen leaving Beijing.

On the whole the situation today is notable for greater order and degree of organisation than in past days. Public transport resumed operation in some districts of the capital and police began to regulate traffic. The supply of food to shops has increased, and work is resuming at enterprises and institutions.

New leaflets have appeared in various parts of Beijing. They call for political reforms, democracy, civil freedoms, and the resignation of leaders who have lost credibility with the people.

Near East & South Asia

Varennikov Interviewed on Afghan Situation

PM2305100189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Army General V.I. Varennikov, commander-in-chief of the Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, by TASS political observer Valeriy Vavilov: "Afghanistan: Light at the End of the Tunnel"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] Army General V.I. Varennikov, commander-in-chief of the Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, recently paid a friendly working visit to Afghanistan. In a talk with a TASS political observer he sets forth his view of the military-political situation in that country as it has taken shape since the Soviet troops' withdrawal, assesses the armed forces of the opposing sides, and speaks of the difficulties the Afghan people are experiencing, ways of overcoming the crisis, and the prospects for the situation's development. Previously Army General V.I. Varennikov was in Afghanistan for several years and is well acquainted with the situation and the state of the Armed Forces of that country.

[Vavilov] Valentin Ivanovich, what, in your opinion, is the present situation in the Republic of Afghanistan and what are the most important factors influencing its formation?

[Varennikov] Over 3 months have elapsed since the last soldier from the Soviet limited troop contingent left Afghan soil. Contrary to the forecasts of politicians and experts on Afghanistan, especially in the West, regarding the legitimate government's inevitable and very swift demise, Kabul is proving increasingly confidently that it is capable and able to defend itself. And there is an increase in the number of realistically minded politicians who are aware that no viable national conciliation is possible without the present leadership of Afghanistan.

I recently visited Afghanistan again and met with the country's military-political leadership, with Afghan Army officers and soldiers. What was immediately apparent was the growth of morale among the population and the Armed Forces personnel, the consolidation and confidence in the actions of the country's leadership, the thoughtfulness and efficiency of its work, and the constantly growing positive changes in the attitudes of all strata of Afghans toward the Soviet Union. The people can see who is their real friend, rendering them material aid, and who is their enemy, shelling peaceful cities and bringing death and grief to the population.

There are thus considerable positive trends in Afghan society, in the Republic's Armed Forces, and in the country's leadership.

The main destabilizing factor is the subversive activity of the opposition, which is trying to impose a military solution to the conflict. Of itself the opposition would long ago have breathed its last were it not for the financial and military assistance from the United States, Pakistan, and a number of Muslim countries. It is these countries, in violation of the Geneva agreements, who are helping the continuation of the Afghan tragedy.

[Vavilov] The Western mass media often cite, as an argument in support of the opposition's strength, the fact that it controls 80-90 percent of Afghanistan's territory. What is your assessment of the opposition and its ability to seize power and lead the country?

[Varennikov] The opposition forces opposing the Republic of Afghanistan have openly proclaimed their main aim—overthrowing the existing regime and seizing power in Afghanistan. But the desire to win is not enough on its own.

The opposition is now trying to take refuge in the fact that there is a so-called "transitional government" of Afghanistan that allegedly represents the peoples of the entire country. But what is it really? In early May even Gaylani—one of the opposition leaders—stated in an interview with THE WASHINGTON POST that this government is not representative inasmuch as it was formed by a consultative council elected by no one, but appointed by the Pakistani military leadership.

The Seven-Party Alliance which created the "transitional government" on instructions from the United States and Pakistan and using money from the United States and Saudi Arabia is laying claim to undivided representation of the Afghan people. But that is not serious.

As for "the opposition's control of 80-90 percent of the country's territory," that is a myth. It must be admitted that the central government does indeed not have direct influence on the village zone in many regions. Historically matters have taken shape in such a way that the influence of the Afghan central authorities has always spread mainly to the major administrative centers and communications lines. And now it is the local authorities, not the opposition, which rule locally. In fact the "transitional government" controls several districts in the east and south of the country and individual villages in the north. That is no more than 20-30 percent of the country's territory.

It is important to note that even if you lose touch with actual reality and allow that the opposition will come to power, that can lead to only one thing—to a new, even bloodier, stage of mutual confrontation.

[Vavilov] And how do you assess the Armed Forces of the legitimate government?

[Varennikov] The Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan are a real force capable of countering the opposition. The Armed Forces number a total of about 300,000 well equipped and trained fighters. The command of the branches of the Armed Forces has good training and sufficient experience in organizing and conducting combat operations. All troops are provided with modern combat equipment and weapons, are adequately trained, and have combat experience.

The Republic's military-political leadership has elaborated realistic organizational measures to increase combat capability and activate combat operations. Steps have also been taken to improve the organization of the defense of Kabul and other major centers and very important establishments and to step up air defense. It is essential to emphasize the improvement in the work of the intelligence organs, which in turn is ensuring success in the use of weapons. Strikes are being regularly made against important enemy establishments that have been discovered around Kabul, Jalalabad, Qandahar, Herat, and other cities. (They are mainly radar positions).

The Armed Forces of the legitimate government are thus successfully opposing the counterrevolutionary forces. The units' actions are displaying ever increasing confidence. Desertion figures have dropped recently. The draft has improved. There are many volunteers and they

include those who are requesting to be sent to Jalalabad. Even during the month-long Muslim festival of Ramadan 13,000 people were drafted.

[Vavilov] The counterrevolution and those who actively support it are linking their calculations for the future with Jalalabad. What is your assessment of the events near Jalalabad, Khowst, Qandahar, and Herat?

[Varennikov] In the past 3 months the opposition has lost a substantial amount of prestige and weight both in Afghanistan and abroad. That is why its aspirations, come what may, to achieve at least some military success in the immediate future in order to boost its political actions are entirely understandable. In general, to be more precise, it is the Pakistani military command and the United States who are actively pushing the Afghan opposition in this direction. Jalalabad has been chosen as the main target for the opposition's attacks. The fighting here has been going on constantly since February. The defenders of Jalalabad are being opposed not only by an opposition grouping, but also by Pakistani militia [malishi] bought at great expense.

So far the opposition has not renounced its plans to seize Khowst and Qandahar either. At the same time, the process of normalization of the situation in these regions is persistently blazing a trail. Thus, in Qandahar, according to the statements of the governor general, Colonel General Ulumi [name as transliterated], the population of the provincial center has trebled and now totals 150,000. The living standard here is considerably higher than in Kabul and other regions of the country. On visiting Qandahar I immediately noticed the abundance of goods at the crowded bazaars, which only recently had been completely empty. Other signs of the stabilization of the situation were also in evidence.

In Herat the considered policy of Governor Khalekyar [name as transliterated] with regard to the agreed territorial and tribal formations existing here is bearing fruit. The struggle in this region is not being strongly aggravated, although it is not yet ended.

[Vavilov] And what, in your view, are the prospects for the development of the present situation in Afghanistan?

[Varennikov] That is the main question. Of course, everyone is waiting for a peaceful solution of the Afghan problem within the framework of the policy of national conciliation. President Najibullah is constantly directing efforts toward seeking paths for a peace settlement, and at the same time the opposition is continuing its previous course. As a result we are facing the fact of a military deadlock. That is why events can develop in one of two main directions.

The first and main one is that if common sense prevails among representatives of all sides then that will lead to an end to the fratricidal war. The path toward this lies in the policy of national conciliation, in the creation of a coalition government on the broadest base including all opposing forces, and in the holding of an international conference on the implementation of the Geneva accords.

The second direction is that if an agreement is not successfully achieved everything will remain in the existing deadlock; combat operations will continue, taking new victims, and destruction will grow. But even when we examine this second option we must bear in mind that the Afghan leadership has real forces for repelling any military adventures. Considering the positive trends that have appeared in Afghan society and especially in the Republic's Armed Forces, considering the confidence of the country's leadership in its actions, it may be said that Kabul can ultimately achieve peace. Of course, this will be hard to do and will involve great sacrifices, but, as President Najibullah has said, "We can see light at the end of the tunnel."

Afghan Government Urges Rebels To Join Assembly

LD2205150389 Moscow TASS in English 1448 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—The Afghan Government is ready to convene a Loya Jirgah (National Assembly) with participation of rebel representatives stationed both inside and outside Afghanistan to discuss the country's future, Mohammad Asif Horami [name as received], political counsellor of the Afghan Embassy in the Soviet Union, told reporters today.

The Afghan Government is prepared to propose a ceasefire, if the other side will observe it. National reconciliation is the only way to salvation and to peace in Afghanistan, he said.

In this connection, Afghanistan is requesting the Soviet Union and the United States, as guarantors of the Geneva agreements, to make Pakistan fulfill its commitments, the diplomat said.

Should violations of the Geneva accords continue, Afghanistan will seek Soviet help, he stressed.

This will not be in violation of the Geneva agreements because Afghanistan has been subject to Pakistani aggression since the accords were signed, he said.

UN Afghanistan Aid Mission Opens in Termez

LD1905134889 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Termez May 19 TASS—The first UN mission in Soviet territory to render humanitarian and economic aid to Afghanistan opened today at Termez, a town in southern Uzbekistan, Central Asia, near the border with Afghanistan. It was opened by Zia Rivi, deputy coordinator of the UN programme "Salam," a citizen of Pakistan.

The purpose of the Termez mission is to render Afghanistan assistance from the northern direction. Initially it will distribute the goods, supplied by the Soviet Union as contribution to the UN programme.

"We rejoice at concrete UN steps to aid Afghanistan," a TASS correspondent was told in Moscow by Grigoriy Kovrizhenko, deputy chairman of the Soviet United Nations Association. He stressed that the Soviet Union was fulfilling scrupulously its commitments to settle the Afghan problem in keeping with the Geneva agreements which, unfortunately, cannot be said of the other parties to the accords, which had also assumed definite obligations regarding the solution of this issue.

Bhutto Rejects Military Settlement in Afghanistan
LD2205192889 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Washington May 22 TASS—"Emphasis on achieving a military victory in Afghanistan was a fundamental mistake," Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto has told a WASHINGTON POST correspondent.

"The military option is bad because bloodshed is bad. It is better to have a negotiated settlement and a political settlement than one that is a military one," the Pakistan prime minister stressed. "I would not say there is a military stalemate yet. Ultimately the military solution would prevail, but why should we leave it to a military solution when a political solution could come about?"

At the same time Benazir Bhutto claimed that there was no chance for a political consensus among Afghans as long as the Soviet-backed government of President Najibullah remained in power in Kabul.

Rightists Pressuring Bhutto on Afghan Policy
PM1805144789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by PRAVDA and TASS special correspondents V. Shurygin and Ye. Aleksandrov: "Dangerous Game With Fire. Pakistani Press on the Afghan Conflict"]

[Text] Islamabad, 17 May—The Afghan topic occupies its traditional place on the front pages of Pakistani newspapers. This is perfectly understandable. The country's capital is only approximately 200 km from the border with Afghanistan, and the echoes of events taking place there are immediately heard here. However, it is far from always possible to learn reliably from the local press just what is really happening. Thus, for example, any reports from Kabul are immediately followed by refutations from the mujahidin leaders. They are, as a rule, bragging statements about advances in the region of Qandahar, Khowst, Herat, or Jalalabad, which arouse ever-greater skepticism in Pakistanis. This skepticism has increased particularly since the opposition's failures at Jalalabad.

The mujahidin leaders try one after the other to absolve themselves of responsibility for what is happening. Typical is a statement by Nabi Muhammadi, defense minister in the "transitional government," made at a news conference in Islamabad. He maintained that no one had consulted him on the decision to attack Jalalabad. "The transitional government did not give the go-ahead to that offensive," he said.

Many local journalists admit in conversation that forces interested in continuing the Afghan conflict have taken shape and strengthened in Pakistan. They include slick operators who have gotten rich during the war by dealing in weapons and drugs, have already made millions in profits, and are striving not to lose a source of income. Here, too, are representatives of the authorities who have warmed their hands on the supply and distribution of food, medicines, and other goods for the refugees.

As can be seen from the newspapers, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto is being greatly pressured by right-wingers who are demanding immediate recognition of the "transitional government" set up by the armed Afghan opposition. This campaign has been mounted since the beginning of May by leaders of the opposition Islamic Democratic Alliance. The tone in it is set by the leaders of the right-wing religious parties Jamiyat-e Eslami and Jamiyat-ul Ulema i Islam. "Afghans and Pakistanis are waging a joint jihad," Kazi Khasin Akhmad [name as transliterated], chairman of Jamiyat-e Eslami, declares.

Former associates of President Ziaul Haq, who died last year, are also trying to influence the present Pakistani Government's "Afghan policy." One of them—Lieutenant General Fazul Haq, retired, former governor of the Northwest Frontier Province—directly threatens B. Bhutto's administration with major unpleasantnesses if it dares deviate from the policy on Afghanistan formulated by Ziaul Haq.

At the same time, voices are also to be heard in Pakistan calling for the abandonment of violations of Afghan sovereignty. "Our policy on Afghanistan does not accord with Pakistan's national interests," the well-known politician Asghar Khan declared in a recent interview in the weekly VIEWPOINT. In his opinion, Pakistan is not fulfilling the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and its involvement in the war in that country carries a threat that its own stability will be disrupted.

An article in the newspaper THE MUSLIM by commentator Rashid Ahmad Khan was devoted to the international aspect of the Afghan problem. The recent tour of Asian countries by G. Hikmatyar, the "transitional government's" foreign minister, created great disappointment in the Afghan opposition camp, he writes. Of the seven states he visited with a view to securing recognition of his government, Malaysia alone decided after

long vacillation to become the fourth country to officially recognize the puppet government. (The three others are Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Bahrain).

Explaining the failure of G. Hikmatyar's tour, the commentator writes that since the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, many countries that previously supported the Afghan opposition have advocated ending the conflict through national dialogue and the creation of a broad-based government.

After noting the progress made in resolving regional conflicts in Southeast Asia, southern Africa, and the Persian Gulf region and the Soviet Union's positive role in this process, R. Ahmad Khan writes that against this background "the arguments in favor of an intra-Afghan dialogue instead of continued bloodshed are acquiring additional weight among members of the world community..." And all the countries involved in the conflict, particularly the mujahidin groupings, must reckon with this.

But, unfortunately, the reasonable statements by the Pakistani press and public with regard to the peaceful prospects of a settlement in Afghanistan so far remain just good wishes, while Pakistan itself is continuing a dangerous game with fire over the Afghan issue.

Vorontsov Sees No Limits on Iran Cooperation

LD2205204789 Moscow TASS in English 2022 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Tehran May 22 TASS—There are no constraints whatsoever on matters of cooperation between the USSR and Iran. "We can provide effective economic assistance to each other and cooperate in solving many important political and international problems." Yuliy Vorontsov, deputy foreign minister of the USSR and Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan, said this in an interview to IRNA News Agency upon completion of his short working visit to Iran. The interview is published in Iranian press today.

The Soviet official said that "now that the Soviet troops have been withdrawn while Pakistani armed units together with thousands of Arab volunteers are in Afghanistan, a new situation has developed in that country. We are witnessing foreign interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. In future we shall continue to exchange opinions with Iran on this matter."

Referring to the results of his meeting with representatives of the Afghanistan opposition "Alliance of Eight" based in Iran, Yuliy Vorontsov said: "In Tehran we had a prolonged and highly useful meeting with A. Zahedi and other leaders of the "Alliance of Eight." Previously, too, we held negotiations with them, but this was our first meeting following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. It differed from the previous meetings in its character and the substance of the issues raised. A. Zahedi denounced foreign interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and favoured a comprehensive and broad government in that country. Our positions on these matters have fully coincided."

On the talks between Iran and Iraq, Vorontsov said: "Of course, we do not wish the current talks to end without a result. The Soviet Union is prepared to provide the necessary assistance in a successful completion of the talks. In my opinion, one factor that holds back implementation of Resolution 598 stems from a decade of war between the two countries. It is very difficult to arrive at a policy of peaceful coexistence between two neighbouring countries after a prolonged war. However, if third countries, including the Soviet Union, make efforts in this direction, it will be much easier to achieve this objective. We want to make efforts in this direction and we are optimists."

Kamentsev Receives Libyan Petroleum Secretary

PM2305111589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In a Businesslike Atmosphere"]

[Text] V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received 20 May F. al-Shakshuki, member of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah General People's Committee and secretary for petroleum affairs. They discussed questions of trade and economic ties between the two countries and the prospects for their future development.

The conversation, which proceeded in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere, was attended by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic ties, and D.A. Suwaydan, ambassador of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah to the USSR.

PDRY Envoy Conveys Message for Shevardnadze

PM2205101789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general rubric "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 18 May A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received A.A. 'Abd al-Ilah, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] ambassador to the USSR. The ambassador handed over a message from A.A. al-Dali, PDRY minister of foreign affairs, addressed to E.A. Shevardnadze.

Moroccan Party Congress Hears CPSU Official

PM2305100789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "The Congress Continues Its Work"]

[Excerpts] Rabat, 20 May—The Istiqlal Party's 12th national congress continues its work in the Moroccan capital. [passage omitted]

Those present warmly welcomed the speech by CPSU representative A.M. Moskvichev, USSR deputy minister of health, who wished the delegates successful work for the benefit of the friendly Moroccan people. The Soviet guest confirmed the USSR's readiness to continue making its contribution toward the strengthening of bilateral cooperation on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, and noninterference in internal affairs.

East Europe

Poland's Walesa Denies Presidential Ambitions

PM2305102789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Reader's letter followed by correspondent A. Starukhin dispatch, as part of the "Dialogue. Readers Ask and Reflect" feature: "I'm Just a Corporal..."; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] "Please describe Lech Walesa. His name is often mentioned in newspapers, but few people are familiar with the life story of this 'disturber of the peace.'
[Signed] "S. Karagedov, Baku City."

Warsaw—Lech Walesa would seem to have been destined to become a peasant: He was born 45 years ago in the small village of Popowo and graduated from an agricultural mechanization school in 1961 as specialist electrician. But 2 years later, after service in the army, he traveled to Gdansk and got a job at the shipyard, where he worked until 1976. He was dismissed as a strike organizer. In 1980 he suddenly reappeared at the shipyard, and work halted there that same day. One of the demands was to reinstate those "illegally dismissed." Walesa was once again on the strike committee.

The independent and self-governing "Solidarity" trade union—recently legalized as a result of agreement reached at a "roundtable" discussion—had been officially recognized for just 1 year in the past and was banned in 1980.

We, a group of Soviet journalists, recently had an opportunity to visit the Gdansk headquarters of the legalized "Solidarity."

Walesa pleaded tiredness, saying this would be "the 25th interview that day," and that he had returned late the previous night from Warsaw where he had met the UN secretary general and an envoy from M. Thatcher, but that he was nonetheless pleased to meet us and had long awaited this meeting. He spoke fast and emotionally, with extraordinary oratorial skill:

"We must help the state build a new economy. Thus, our goals coincide with the government's. We are in favor of renewal, of reformation. We carefully follow the progress of your restructuring. I am against strikes; they do not help the cause. People are becoming increasingly aware that life cannot be improved without real work."

"Is it true that you dream of the presidential chair?"

"No! I'm just a corporal, I commanded a squad in the army. The country is not a squad. You have to be a major politician. I am a trade union official. I really love my shipyard. Some people notice my home and my car, but people rarely notice how much work I have to do..."

What is his attitude toward socialism?

"For me it is unimportant," Walesa reflects, "whether it is a private or a state bakery. Wherever bread is produced more cheaply, that is where you'll have socialist relations..."

He is pious. A wooden cross, which he has been carrying around with him for a long time now, hangs on his office wall. On the lapel of his jacket he wears a badge bearing the Holy Virgin's image.

There are eight children in the Walesa family. Lech has no wish to see any of them following in their father's footsteps: "Have you any idea what it has cost me?"

Early Release of CSSR Dissident Havel Noted

PM2205131589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "Decision by a Prague Court"]

[Text] Prague—The district court in Prague 4 ruled on Wednesday that Vaclav Havel should be released early from his imprisonment. This Czechoslovak citizen, born 1936, is a poet and playwright and one of the leaders of the not unknown Charter-77 organization.

V. Havel was arrested and subsequently sentenced to deprivation of liberty for inciting mass disturbances and obstructing representatives of the authorities in connection with the unauthorized demonstration on Wenceslas Square in January. The demonstration, which its organizers describe as an "act of remembrance," was held in connection with the 20th anniversary of the self-immolation by the student Jan Palach protesting the entry into Czechoslovakia of socialist countries' forces in August 1968.

Originally, V. Havel was sentenced to 9 months of imprisonment. Subsequently the sentence was reviewed, the term of imprisonment reduced to 8 months, and the conditions of imprisonment changed. A number of figures and organizations in various countries have demanded that the ruling be changed because they did not agree with the substance of the charge. The Czechoslovak press published arguments supporting the measures adopted by the court. CTK reports that now that the convict has served half his sentence, the court has considered an application from his attorney which noted

that he has fulfilled all the conditions required for a conditional early release. V. Havel has been released but he retains an 18-month probational sentence.

Gorbachev Greets New Yugoslav President
PM2205142589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Mikhail Gorbachev's undated message to Milan Pancevski, new president of the SFRY League of Communists Central Committee Presidium]

[Text] To Comrade Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium:

Esteemed Comrade Pancevski,

I congratulate you on your election as president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium and wish you fruitful work at this responsible position.

I am convinced that the all-around, equal cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples will continue to successfully develop under the favorable influence of the processes of renewal of socialism in the USSR and the SFRY.

With Communist greetings,
[Signed] M. Gorbachev

Silayev, SFRY's Mitrovic Meet on Trade Issues
PM2205094989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 May 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Working Meeting"]

[Text] The chairmen of the national sections of the Soviet-Yugoslav Intergovernmental Committee on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation—I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and A. Mitrovic, vice president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council—had a working meeting in Moscow 16-18 May.

They examined topical questions of trade and economic cooperation and the prospects for further broadening direct ties between Soviet and Yugoslav enterprises. Particular attention was devoted to solving problems of the balance of payments between the two countries.

The sides agreed to embark on work to improve the current mechanism for mutual cooperation in view of the changes taking place in the USSR and SFRY economic systems.

M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR, took part in the talks.

Katushev Meets SFRY, Bulgarian Officials 17 May
PM2205092789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Favoring Development of Contacts"]

[Text] On 17 May a meeting took place between K.F. Katushev, USSR minister for foreign economic relations, and A. Mitrovic, deputy chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council.

During their conversation, questions of the further development and improvement of Soviet-Yugoslav trade and economic relations were dicussed.

The meeting was attended by M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR.

On the same day a conversation took place between K.F. Katushev and A. Lukanov, candidate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian minister for foreign economic relations.

Aboimov Receives Romanian Ambassador Bucur
PM2205125189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 17 May I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister, received I. Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request.

Ceausescu Hails Sino-Soviet Normalization
PM2205145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Political Executive Committee"]

[Text] Bucharest, 20 May—At a session of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Political Executive Committee held here with N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, in the chair, the Romanian leader welcomed the agreement reached on normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC. The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party emphasized that the Socialist Republic of Romania has a negative attitude toward the NATO countries' intended modernization of tactical nuclear arms and short-range missiles.

West Europe

Mitterrand Discusses SNF, East-West Relations

PM2205165589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Postponing the Decision on Modernization. F. Mitterrand's News Conference"]

[Text] Paris—France advocates postponing a decision on the question of modernizing the tactical nuclear weapons sited in Western Europe until 1992. That major conclusion can be drawn from F. Mitterrand's news conference in the Elysee Palace devoted to France's foreign and military policy.

F. Mitterrand expressed the hope that the United States, Britain, the FRG, and other countries would agree at the Brussels NATO Council session that "there is time for reflection" on the problem of modernizing tactical nuclear weapons since there is no "urgent technical necessity" to make a decision on this question. At the same time, the president said that, in his opinion, it is not yet time to adopt the "third zero option" (that is, to eliminate tactical nuclear weapons in Europe).

F. Mitterrand stated that discussion of the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons "is the internal affair of states within the NATO integrated military command"... France is a member of the North Atlantic Alliance; it takes part in the military alliance but, the president said, "not in the same way as other countries. Other countries have created a military structure with its own hierarchy, an integrated command led by the Americans."

France, F. Mitterrand went on to say, is a loyal ally and intends to be at one [solidarnyy] with NATO, but it does not submit to its hierarchy and wants to decide its own stance for itself, depending on circumstances, having its own autonomous deterrence strategy within the Western deterrent forces. We are not involved in the debate underway in the United States, Britain, and West Germany, the head of state pointed out, but we can express our viewpoint.

Everything indicates that the United States and the FRG, the president stressed, think that if modernization takes place, there is still time to discuss it before 1992; that is the date beyond which these weapons will begin to become obsolete and, consequently, the equilibrium will be upset. This equilibrium will be upset if the USSR has already modernized its forces, and this must be verified [proverit]. F. Mitterrand pointed out that modernization on one side will automatically entail modernization on the other.

The president of the Republic said the following in response to questions about France's nuclear weapons: If the United States, the USSR, and Britain abandon theirs, we will do the same. Paris will be ready to discuss the question of nuclear arms after the USSR and the United States have reduced their arsenals to a level comparable to the French level. The president dwelt particularly on relations with the Soviet Union. At present, he said, there are elements of trust not only between Moscow and Paris, but also between Moscow and other states. There was a considerable change of tone and opportunities for dialogue with the USSR with M.S. Gorbachev's coming to power, F. Mitterrand underlined, and his decisions have brought about substantial changes in Moscow's foreign and domestic policy.

Speaking about East-West relations, France's president noted that the EEC is not all of Europe and that Eastern Europe still exists. The European Community and each of its member countries should "open their doors and windows as wide as possible." The president expressed the hope that both parts of Europe would build more connecting bridges and begin to create a "Europe for Europeans."

F. Mitterrand's announcement of the country's military budget for the years 1990-1992 was awaited with great interest. Confirming France's adherence to nuclear weapons, he said that all military programs will be retained and that there will be no reduction in military spending, but rather a reduction in its growth rate, but even this means a reduction of Fr40-45 billion in the defense budget.

Before the news conference began, one of the president's assistants talking to journalists criticized the United States and Britain for pressuring their allies on the question of modernizing tactical nuclear weapons. In his opinion, despite unwillingness on the part of Washington, London, and Paris, NATO will obviously have to agree to talks with Warsaw Pact countries on these weapons.

F. Mitterrand arrives in the United States 20 May, where he will meet President G. Bush.

UK Media Cited on Expulsion of Soviet Diplomats

PM2305093989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent T. Kolesnichenko dispatch under the general heading "Unfriendly Act"]

[Text] London, 22 May—The British Government's decision to expel 11 Soviet citizens (including three journalists) and the Soviet side's identical retaliatory measures have become the lead news story here—a sad story, unfortunately.

Many newspapers—even those which, on the whole, support the Thatcher Cabinet's policy—have at the same time been asking whether the British Government's step was sensible. The news, the FINANCIAL TIMES noted,

"came like a bolt from the blue amid the exceptionally improved climate of East-West relations, particularly relations between Britain and the Soviet Union."

Both the FINANCIAL TIMES and other newspapers have been expressing the idea that the unfriendly act undertaken by London reflects rather an attempt to display "firmness" in relations with the Soviet Union. Clearly, this was helped by the position currently adopted by M. Thatcher and her entourage on the question of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

There is no need to state that nothing good will come of this policy, and many British politicians are expressing precisely this view. For instance, George Robertson, a minister in the Labor "shadow" Cabinet, stated that the government is engaging in "strangely inconsistent diplomacy."

Anniversary of UK Civil Airline Links Marked

PM1905135989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[V. Chebakov report: "In the Sky and on the Ground"]

[Text] It was in May 1959 than an Aeroflot Tu-104 aircraft made the first scheduled flight on the Moscow-London route. A Viscount aircraft of the British airline "British [European] Airways" landed in the USSR capital 2 days later. The flight took 7 hours, including a landing in Copenhagen.

Nowadays modern Il-86 and Il-62 airliners make five flights a week, taking just 3 and ½ hours to provide an air bridge between the two states' capitals. In addition, Tu-154 aircraft fly the Moscow-Manchester, Leningrad-London, and Transsiberian London-Tokyo routes. Passenger transportation is developing at a good pace. Just 6 years ago, scheduled and charter flights carried 70,000 persons, but last year the number increased to 220,000.

"A. Volkov, USSR minister of civil aviation, and Lord King, chairman of the 'British Airways' Board, recently signed a joint declaration to mark the 30th anniversary of the air communications agreement between the USSR and Britain," I was told by John S. Berli [name as transliterated], British Airways general representative in the USSR. "Sound prospects are emerging for further cooperation between our countries not only in air transportation but also on the ground. For example, talks are being held on the creation of joint enterprises, the reconstruction of airports in the Soviet Union, and the building of hotels and other facilities. For example, the British airports consortium 'United Kingdom Airport Group' offered to reconstruct Sheremetyevo-1 Airport to enable it to receive aircraft in any weather, right up to 'blind landing' facilities. But the main point is to carry out the work without interrupting flights."

Lukyanov Receives New Italian Ambassador

PM1905134389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Presentation of Credentials"]

[Text] F. Salleo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the Kremlin 18 May.

F. Salleo declared that he takes on the duties assigned to him at a time when the international situation is distinguished by numerous positive aspects. The resumption of U.S.-Soviet dialogue following the coming into office of the new U.S. Administration, the development of the pan-European process, and the turnabout in relations between the USSR and China are highly promising factors for improving the situation throughout the world. He noted the profound interest with which the Italian public perceives the reforms being implemented in the Soviet Union. The ambassador gave assurances that he would do everything possible to promote the development of cooperation between Italy and the USSR in various spheres, giving special attention to trade and economic relations where there are significant positive changes and prospects.

Accepting the ambassador's credentials on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, A.I. Lukyanov emphasized the Soviet Union's invariable striving to comprehensively deepen cooperation with Italy as a substantial factor in improving international relations. The main element of world politics, he noted, is now the quest for ways toward a nonconfrontational and more democratic world based on the priority of universal human values, a balance of interests, and growing confidence and mutual understanding. Europe is now acquiring a different image, turning more and more in the direction of disarmament and cooperation. The results of the Vienna meeting of representatives from CSCE states impart a new quality to the pan-European process and promote the strengthening of security, the development of productive collaboration between states, and the improvement of the political climate on the continent and the world as a whole.

The ambassador was briefed on the profound qualitative changes occurring in all spheres of Soviet society's life.

Following the presentation of credentials and the exchange of speeches, A.I. Lukyanov and F. Salleo had a friendly conversation.

Italian Communist Official Lauds Beijing Summit

LD1905125389 Moscow TASS in English 0947 GMT 19 Mar 89

[Text] Rome May 19 TASS—The handshake between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping, which sealed the normalisation of relations between the Soviet Communist Party and the Communist Party of China after 30 years of estrangement, was an historic event, an Italian Communist official told TASS.

Antonio Rubbi, who is in charge of the party's international relations, said that "we had waited for this event to happen for a long time. We had also contributed toward this rapprochement betwen the two interested sides."

The process of rapprochement betwen the Soviet Union and China has shown their desire to overcome splits in the present-day world which is becoming more and more interdependent, to eliminate conflicts fraught with instability and danger, and work toward the establishment of international relations based on detente, peaceful coexistence, cooperation, and mutual solidarity, Rubbi said.

He said that "this is especially important nowadays when possibillities for a new, unprecedented leap in science, technology, social, cultural and spiritual progress coexist with dramatic, sometimes indescribable living conditions of billions of people, alarming prospects for life and the health of our planet, and the unremoved threat to civilization's future. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Rubbi expressed hope that the good relations restored between the Soviet Union and China will help settle disputes between China and Vietnam and have a positive impact on Pakistan's policy toward Afghanistan and India, on the process of Korea's unification and on the establishment of the principles of peaceful coexistence and new concepts of security and cooperation on all continents.

Besides, he added, the Soviet Union and China, which have returned to good-neighborly relations, "can independently make more effective contributions to international organisations' efforts and to various negotiations using their weight and influence, conduct an efficient policy of disarmament and settlement of regional conflicts through negotiations, and seek a new international economic order which would help overcome the gap between the North and the South. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Gorbachev Message Given to Finland's President

LD2005120389 Helsinki International Service in English 0830 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Boris Pugo, chairman of the Soviet Communist Party Control Committee, on Friday delivered a message to Finland's President Mauno Koivisto from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Mr. Pugo, who concluded his 5-day visit on Friday, briefed President Koivisto on the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. He did not have further information about a visit to Finland by President Gorbachev, expected to take place next fall. The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee member and former Latvian party chief was in Finland on the invitation from the Finnish Center Party.

Fisheries Talks With EEC Held in Brussels

LD2005113289 Moscow TASS in English 1111 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Brussels May 20 TASS—Officials from the Soviet Union and European Economic Community have held the first round of talks here to draft an agreement on cooperation in fisheries.

The agreement will regulate fishing in the 200-mile economic zones of the sides and their economic cooperation, including the establishment of joint ventures. The sides will also conduct joint scientific research with the view to preserving and rationally using world ocean resources.

The sides noted progress reached during the talks and their mutual desire to develop relations based on the principles of mutual benefit and equality.

The talks will be continued next July in Moscow.

Political & Social

Plenum Recommends Gorbachev Election as Chairman

LD2205162989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 May 89 Second Edition p 1

["Information Report on CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was held on 22 May 1989. The plenum examined issues connected with the staging of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. A report on these issues was delivered by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

The following spoke at the plenum:
Bogomyakov, first secretary of the Tyumen CPSU Obkom;
Manayenkov, first secretary of the Lipetsk CPSU Obkom;
Pogrebnyak, first secretary of the Lvov Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party;
Dzasokhov, first secretary of the North Ossetia CPSU Obkom;
Yeltsin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Construction, and USSR minister;
Logunov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and rector of the Moscow State University of Lomonosov;
Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee;
Potapov, first secretary of the Irkutsk CPSU Obkom;
Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee;
Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol [Communist Youth League] Central Committee;
Karpov, first secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Writers;
Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee;
Polozkov, first secretary of Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom;
Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee;
Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee;
Basistov, general designer from the Radio Instrument-Building Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of the Radio Industry;
Falin, head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee;
Malofeyev, first secretary of the Minsk Obkom of the Belorussian Communist Party;
Zamyatin, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Great Britain;
Samsonov, first secretary of the Ulyanovsk CPSU Obkom;
Pokhitaylo, first secretary of the Omsk CPSU Obkom;
Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee;
Nazarbayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic;
Masol, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic;
Dumachev, member of the Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee;
Prokopyev, first secretary of the Yakutsk CPSU Obkom;
N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers;
Koptyug, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences;
Kolpakov, USSR minister of ferrous metallurgy;
Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Power;
Chernomyrdin, USSR minister of the gas industry;
Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry;
Izrael, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology; and
Boyko, counsellor on economic issues of the USSR Embassy in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The plenum recommended Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The plenum adopted corresponding decisions on the issues discussed.

In conclusion, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

A statement by Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was read out at the plenum. The statement is being published in the press.

The plenum took note of the fact that the USSR Procuracy is conducting an investigation into issues raised in Ligachev's statement, the results of which will be reported.

With this, the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee ended.

Ligachev Plenum Statement Rebuts 'Provocation'

PM2205211089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Statement by Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, read at the CPSU Central Committee plenum in Moscow 22 May, published under headline "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] On 12 May 1989 N.V. Ivanov, investigator of the USSR Prosecutor's Office, stated that "further members of the Politburo had emerged" in the course of a criminal

case involving bribery. My name was mentioned in this connection. I consider the statement in question a provocation and a malicious fabrication. It casts the shadow of suspicion of involvement in a serious crime on me as a citizen and as a member of the CPSU Central Comittee.

The question naturally arises as to the purpose for which this was done. In my view, it was said to discredit the present leadership of the party and for purposes of political careerism. And also in order to evade responsibility with respect to serious accusations made against N.V. Ivanov in numerous letters received from citizens in the course of conducting the investigation.

You will agree, I think, that slanderous accusations of this kind touch not only my honor and decency, but also the honor and prestige of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

In addition, I would like to draw attention to the following. It is well known that the press has done and is doing a lot to promote restructuring. Unfortunately, certain mass information media have granted particular prosecution service investigators and other authors of publications extensive opportunities to defame people by accusing them of crimes even before trial, and have thus deluded millions of citizens by turning public opinion against people not even under investigation.

I would ask the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to investigate these facts.

I would also like to stress something else. The party must continue to develop democracy and glasnost, to develop criticism, to involve the working people in the real management of society, and, relying on the laws, on public opinion, and on the labor collectives, to eradicate bureaucracy, abuse, and bribery, and reinforce discipline and law and order. In short, to do everything necessary to enable every Soviet person to work and live in freedom.

Intensifying political careerism also presents a definite danger. I am convinced that it must be resolutely fought against.

Respectfully,
[Signed] Ye. Ligachev 21 May 1989

Gorbachev Chairs Supreme Soviet Presidium Session
LD2305071289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0655 GMT 23 may 89

[Text] Moscow, 23 May (TASS)—A session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet opened in the Kremlin at 1000 today with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the chair. In accordance with an instruction from the USSR Supreme Soviet, it will examine matters connected with the organization of preparations for the sessions of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, and also with the submission of Presidium decrees adopted in the period following the 12th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation, for confirmation by the Supreme Soviet which will be elected by the Congress.

Yeltsin Relieved of Construction Committee Duties
LD2305144189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1434 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 23 May (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Boris Yeltsin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Construction Committee, of his duties as minister at his own request in connection with his electon as USSR people's deputy.

Gorbachev Chairs Congress Party Group Meeting
LD2305135289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1336 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 23 May (TASS)—A meeting of the party group of the congress of people's deputies of the USSR was held today under the chairmanship of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Questions connected with the holding of the congress of people's deputies of the USSR were discussed.

Supreme Court Clarifies Concept of 'Discreditation'
LD2205135289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 May (TASS)—A TASS correspondent writes:

As we have already reported, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decree at the beginning of April which made changes to the law on state crimes. Wordings were excluded which made it possible to use a broad interpretation of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, on the basis of which people were brought to account under the criminal law in former times.

Nevertheless, it must be said that the decree did not receive a good reception. While welcoming the strengthening of the guarantees of the implementation of human rights, the public expressed concern over the wording of Article 11/1, which provides for criminal punishment for insulting or discrediting state bodies, public organizations, and officials. Fears were expressed that the lack of a precise concept of "discrediting" will make it possible for people to be brought to account for criticism.

Cases under Article 11/1 of the law have already been instituted in several republics. At the same time divergences in the interpretation of culpable discreditation have indeed made their appearance. The plenum of the USSR Supreme Court, therefore, which has just taken place and which has the right in law to provide an explanation of the legislation, has deemed it necessary to explain the concept of "discreditation".

Plenum participants noted that the law should, on the one hand, guarantee the defense of state bodies, officials, and public organizations from public insults and slander, and on the other hand guarantee the defense of citizens' constitutional rights to freedom of expression, freedom of the press, as well as the right to criticize the shortcomings that exist.

The plenum explained to the courts that under the term discredit, envisioned by Article 11/1 of the USSR law "on the criminal responsibility for state crimes," they should understand the deliberate public circulation of slanderous fabrications, that is, information that is known to be false for the purposes of undermining trust in the supreme bodies of power and government of the USSR, other bodies, public organizations, and officials.

At the same time the plenum particularly stressed that the reporting in the press or in any other form of information reflecting shortcomings in the work of bodies, public organizations, and officials, and criticism of them in connection with this, are not corpus delicti.

Such an understanding and application of the new legal norms fully corresponds with the international pacts and conventions on human rights ratified by the USSR, plenum participants said.

Plenum Reviews Rehabilitations

LD2205163489 Moscow TASS in English 1556 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—A regular plenum of the Supreme Court of the USSR has been held. It discussed the presentation of the USSR procurator-general on the clarification to the courts on questions that arose in connection with the application of Article 11(1) of the Law of the USSR "On Criminal Responsibility for Crimes Against the State" (in the wording of the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of April 8, 1989).

The plenum explained to courts that discreditation to which Article 11(1) of the Law of the USSR "On Criminal Responsibility for Crimes Against the State" applies means deliberate public circulation of slanderous allegations that is obviously false information aimed at undermining confidence in supreme bodies of state authority of the USSR, other bodies, public organisations and officials.

The plenum discussed protests of the chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR and the USSR procurator-general on criminal cases. They include more than 50 cases of persons who were subjected to unjustifiable repressions in the 30s-40s and early 50s. Almost all these persons had been found guilty of committing especially dangerous crimes and had been sentenced to the maximum terms of deprivation of freedom, while some of them were shot. All the persons convicted on these cases have been rehabilitated.

Among the rehabilitated are former official of the liaison service of the Comintern Executive Committee Viktor Tsander. He had been found guilty of being member of the anti-Soviet espionage terroristic Trotskyite organisation, an agent of German intelligence service. The plenum dismissed Tsander's case because of the absence of fact of a crime in his actions.

Viktor Suvorin had been convicted on the basis of false accusation of membership in the "counter-revolutionary Trotskyite-Zinovevite group which prepared and carried out Sergey Kirov's assassination and prepared a number of other terroristic acts against leaders of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) and the Soviet Government." Suvorin's case has also been dismissed and he has been fully rehabilitated.

Prominent Latvian poet Knut Skuenieks has been rehabilitated too. He was convicted in 1962 on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and failure to inform the authorities of the existence of an underground anti-Soviet organisation that had the aim of forcible separation of the Baltic republics from the USSR.

As regards the case of physician Aleksandr Levents who was convicted for a crime not connected with the discharge of his professional duties, the plenum decided it was unjustifiable to apply to him the additional punishment denying him the right to work as a physician, which actually deprived him of the right to work in his profession, and dropped this punishment from the sentence.

'Unjustified Repressions' Examined

LD2205194589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A routine plenum of the USSR Supreme Court has been held. The plenum examined a report by the USSR procurator general on the issuing to the courts of guiding explanations on matters that have arisen in connection with the application of Article 11/1 of the USSR Law on Criminal Responsibility for Crimes Against the State as phrased in the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 8 April, 1989.

A report by Tikhomirnyy, chairman of the Court Collegium for Criminal Cases, and speeches by participants in the plenum and by people invited to the meeting noted that questions from the floor and a number of publications in the press bear witness to the fact that exceptional importance is attached to the correct understanding of the legal term dicreditation.

The plenum explained to the courts that the term discreditation should be understood to mean deliberate public dissemination of slanderous fabrications, that is,

knowingly false information, with the aim of undermining confidence in the highest bodies of power and administration in the USSR, and of other bodies, public organizations and officials enumerated in the above article of the law.

The plenum particularly emphasized that the communication in the press or by any other means of information reflecting shortcomings in the activities of the bodies indicated, of public organizations and officials, and criticism of them in connection with this, does not constitute a crime.

The plenum examined protests by the USSR Supreme Court chairman and the USSR Procurator General on criminal cases. These include more than 50 cases against individuals subjected to unjustified repressions in the thirties, forties, and the early fifties. Almost all these individuals were found guilty of committing especially dangerous state crimes and were sentenced to the maximum term of imprisonment, and some were shot.

Most frequently were accusations of conducting anti-Soviet agitation, when the utterances of those condemned contained no kind of call for the overthrow, undermining or weakening of the Soviet system.

In considering the cases of the more grave crimes of espionage, terrorist activity, and sabotage the plenum established that charges on these were falsified or based on such evidence as could not be acknowledged to be adequate. In connection with this, all those condemned in these cases have also been rehabilitated.

In other cases, the court corrected mistakes perpetrated by the courts in qualifying the crimes, in determining the measures of punishment, and in decisions on the question of the limits of material responsibility for what had been committed.

A report on the work of the USSR Supreme Court Plenum will be published in full in the press.

Bribery Charge Against V.I. Smirnov Dropped
PM2305092389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] As has been reported earlier, V.I. Smirnov, former second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, was arrested by the USSR Prosecutor's Office on 11 January 1989 on a charge of bribe-taking.

In the course of a thorough investigation no confirmation of the charge against him was found. His innocence has been established. On 22 May this year proceedings against V.I. Smirnov were dropped on the grounds that there was no case to answer. He has been released from custody.

The USSR Prosecutor's Office apologizes to V.I. Smirnov for the serious violations of socialist legality committed against him by Prosecutor's Office officials.

A detailed report on the investigation will be published in the press.

Supreme Soviet Extends Repeat Ballot Voting Hours
LD1705224289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has extended the application of the decision of 28 April 1989 permitting constituency electoral commissions for the elections of USSR people's deputies to prolong the time of voting from 0600 to 2200 local time to cover the repeat ballots held after 14 May.

Results of Moscow Election Runoffs Published
PM2205151389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[A. Davydov report: "Moscow: Elections Over"]

[Text] The runoff elections of USSR people's deputies did not happen quite as usual in the capital—they were held on a weekday, Thursday 18 May. The city electoral commission acted on the basis of seasonal peculiarities: Spring days are lovely and many Muscovites go to their dachas on their days off, which, it was feared, could have affected the voting results. However, all indications are that the innovation did not fully prove its worth: Considerably fewer voters than last time—almost 20,000—voted in the election.

The results were as follows. Valentin Andreyevich Logunov, deputy editor of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, won 60.42 percent of the vote and was victorious in Kuntsevskiy Okrug. The voters gave Yuriy Petrovich Vlasov, chairman of the USSR Weightlifting and Wrestling Federation and writer, the majority—66.75 percent of the vote—in Lyublinskiy Okrug. Aleksandr Sergeyevich Samsonov, director of the First Moscow Clock and Watch Factory, became people's deputy in Proletarskiy Okrug (50.6 percent of the vote).

Electoral Commission Issues Repeat Elections Data
PM2305104189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Central Electoral Commission Report on Results of Repeat Elections of USSR People's Deputies since 26 March 1989"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] After examining the reports received from the okrug electoral commissions and from the electoral commissions of social organizations on the results of the repeat elections of USSR People's Deputies, the Central Electoral Commission reports:

Results of Repeat Elections from Electoral Okrugs

There were 63,701,239 people on the electoral registers for the repeat elections of USSR People's Deputies in electoral okrugs: 49,948,246 people or 78.4 percent took part.

Repeat Elections in Territorial Okrugs

In the repeat elections of USSR People's Deputies 713 candidates ran in 114 territorial electoral okrugs. The number of candidates running in each electoral okrug was as follows. Eight okrugs had 1 candidate, 6 okrugs had 2 candidates, and 100 okrugs had 3 or more candidates.

Repeat elections were held in 114 electoral okrugs. People's deputies were elected in 35 okrugs. In 78 okrugs where more than 2 candidates ran and no candidate was elected, runoffs will be held in accordance with article 60 of the Law on the Election of USSR People's Deputies.

In one electoral okrug two candidates ran but did not receive the necessary number of votes and were not elected. A repeat election will be held in that okrug in accordance with article 61 of the Law on the Election of USSR People's Deputies.

Repeat Elections in National-Territorial Electoral Okrugs

There were 444 candidates in the repeat elections of USSR people's deputies in 84 national-territorial electoral okrugs. The number of candidates running in each electoral okrug was as follows. Eight okrugs had 1 candidate, 7 okrugs had 2 candidates, and 69 okrugs had 3 or more candidates.

Elections were held in 84 electoral okrugs. People's deputies were elected in 36 okrugs. In 48 okrugs where more than two candidates ran and no candidate was elected, runoffs will be held in accordance with Article 60 of the Law on the Election of USSR People's Deputies.

Reports on the results of the elections in each territorial and national-territorial electoral okrug have been published by okrug electoral commissions in the local press.

Results of Elections From Social Organizations

In the repeat elections of USSR People's Deputies from 5 social organizations 32 candidates ran for 18 deputies' seats. Eighteen deputies were elected.

Reports on the results of the election of USSR People's Deputies for each social organizations have been published in the press.

In all, 89 people were elected as USSR people's deputies in the repeat elections. There are 8 women, or 9.0 percent of deputies, and 81 men or 91.0 percent, including 13 workers or 14.6 percent, and 7 collective farm members or 7.9 percent. In all there are 20 workers and collective farm members or 22.5 percent. Deputies included 70 CPSU members and candidate members or 78.7 percent, 19 non-party people or 21.3 percent, and 1 All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League member or 1.1 percent.

On the basis of article 57 of the Law on Elections, the Central Electoral Commission has registered all the USSR people's deputies elected in electoral okrugs and from social organizations.

Central Electoral Commission on the elections of USSR People's Deputies.

Lessons Drawn From Kemerovo Election Defeat

18001040 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 16 May 89 p 2

[Article by M. Briman, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent, Kemerovo-Krasnoyarsk: "Lessons of Democracy—What Happens After Defeat?"]

[Text] My story about the first secretary of the Kemerovo party obkom [oblast party committee], Aleksandr Grigoryevich Melnikov, and about the pre-election campaign that he conducted, was published in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA on 23 March—3 days before the elections. This is the way that material ended: "And then I asked, but is Melnikov not afraid to lose? And he answered: 'I do not think about this. The fact that there will be two candidates on the ballot is itself a victory of party policy. And this victory is more important than whether one or another first secretary will win or not win.'"

Personally, after conversations with him and with people about him, and getting to know the secretary by his work, and after acquainting myself with Melnikov's program, I would not hesitate a second to vote "yes" for him. The voters, however, decided otherwise—they gave him a little more than 30 percent of their votes. He was defeated by N. A. Bashev, his opponent, a state farm [sovkhoz] director, about whom Melnikov himself did not stop repeating at all meetings that his candidacy was fully deserved.

But "fully" does not mean "more," and here there is such a significant majority....

I believe that those party workers lost who were slow to improve their methods and who did not broaden their ties with workers, that people do not err and that they judge managers of all ranks according to specific deeds, their conduct, and their civilian positions.

Without any doubt, this view, in my opinion, should be taken into account: Melnikov, for example, worked only 4 months in his new position. However, for Aleksandr Grigoryevich these 4 months proved to be sufficient for the party obkom to develop a program for a revival of Kemerovo village that was rather novel in many ways, and he proceeded to implement it. He came to the voters with this program, whose fruits could not be seen by the people immediately. But as we see, he did not convince everyone by far.

And here a logical question arises: Considering the situation that has evolved in the country, how promising was the effort itself to convince the voters to give a vote of confidence to those managers who simply did not have the time to prove that they would use this vote in the best possible way?

In many ways the situation was determined by that critical mood in areas about which M.S. Gorbachev warned more than once after a trip to Krasnoyarsk: The people are dissatisfied with how pressing problems are resolved in a specific rayon, city, and oblast. And although a resolution of these problems does not by far always depend on local management, the critical mood of the voters was directed to those who are closer, to their own party, soviet, and administrative managers.

Was this taken into account from the very beginning? Probably not. Because of inertia, it was assumed that the "head man" was assured the support of the rayon party committees. But the voter is not a simpleton; he understands that leadership in the role of a deputy will try to do more for his own voting district than someone else could, and, consequently, the voters will do more for him. But it turned out that a critical attitude can be stronger than local "self-interest."

It seems to make sense on the threshold of the forthcoming elections to local soviets to talk a little about the mistakes and omissions committed by the party workers themselves in the course of the last election campaign. Many of these mistakes and blunders are of a purely psychological nature, and it will be a pity if they are repeated.

This is what a politician is all about, to be able to sense the real attitudes of the masses in time. The problem in particular is for him to become the spokesman for these attitudes, including critical attitudes. In fact, all of the speeches of first secretaries that I heard at meetings, as a rule, missed the opportunity to identify with the feelings of the people, and to express their pain and indignation over real difficulties. In missing this opportunity, party workers lost to their opponents not only emotionally, which in itself is very dangerous, but they lost on substance as well. Because the sharp, and at times merciless criticism with respect to oneself—from the past and the present—is an inherent part of a party platform.

(This material was already written when I read the speech of A.G. Melnikov at the recent April plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. I automatically compared his speech to the one that he gave before the voters in the "Progress" collective farm [kolkhoz]. No, he did not conceal the difficulties confronting the party obkom even there. But he spoke much more openly, sharply, and emotionally at the plenum, even criticizing the press, the bureaucracy that has penetrated all aspects of life, and the unmanageable administrators, more of whom have been bred in state enterprises and associations than in the past, and the policy with respect to Siberia.)

Of course, the programs of the first secretaries were most often more constructive and realistic than those of some others. And on this basis, it was possible to have a serious discussion, rather than an argument with all kinds of fantasies, at times openly playing on our difficulties. But, unfortunately, party workers everywhere avoided analysis of even the most unrealistic and speculative programs of their opponents. They did not even attempt to break the behavioral stereotypes that are typical for a managerial worker, and they were constantly afraid of being accused of "playing up to the masses" or of "self-advertising."

However, there were times when they suddenly opened up and became themselves. This was when, for example, they received this kind of question:

"You have been in party work for many years. This means that you were shaped in the years of stagnation. How will you work under the new conditions?"

Of course, a candidate by far cannot say everything about himself, not wanting to risk being accused of immodesty. But it is for this reason that an institution of proxies exists, the candidate's team.

However, in my opinion, in the formation of these teams of some first secretaries, the same stereotype once again let them down, because of which it was believed that the higher the position of the candidate, the closer a proxy has to be to the "plough" and the "lathe." This apparently was to confirm the candidate's very close ties with the "common people." At the same time, the past election campaign, as never before, required a personality in the proxy role. (And very frequently the fight between candidates essentially turned into a fight between interesting personalities on their teams.) People were needed who were able to infect others with their candidate's vision, his virtues, and the virtues of his program. Party leaders had a disastrous shortage of such people. For example, A.G. Melnikov's proxy could not rid himself of the hypnosis of the candidate's position, and he diligently, although this was not needed, impressed upon the people that none other than the party obkom secretary stood before them.

For 2 months before the official opening of the campaign, A. G. Melnikov was able to accomplish something that was incredible. After receiving 40 percent of the "black balls" at the organizational plenum of the Kemerovo obkom of the CPSU, a little more than a month later, at an oblast reports and election conference, he was able to convince the Communists of his right to lead them. Only three persons at that time voted "against." He was also confident that he could have corrected many things in his own election campaign, and looked at the campaign and at himself through the eyes of the average person or, even better, though those of one who is biased.

But being in the "lead role" it is difficult to do this, and at times impossible.

And now it is perhaps the right time to talk about the role of the party committee in the election campaign for its own secretary. The question in this case is not about attempts to do everything that is permissible and not permissible, so that the "head man" would be left on the ballot by himself. And it is not about open pressure on the voters when the time comes to choose between two candidates. And it is not even about those red carpets that some excessively zealous raykom [rayon party committee] members laid out for their candidate. This kind of participation by workers of the apparat in the preelection campaign could not have evoked anything but a natural counteraction on the part of the voters.

It should be said to the credit of the residents of Kemerovo: There were no red carpets here. Any even insignificant attempts to put the candidates in an unequal situation were suppressed. Melnikov personally adhered to this. At his request, the party obkom apparat also adhered to this. And this was also a help. But, alas, this was the only restriction.

It is characteristic that the election campaign here in general, and of the first secretary in particular, did not even involve idealogues, but principally the organizational-party department. The department saw its duty as the compilation of a schedule of meetings with the voters, and to ensure that these meetings did not break down. This department also selected the team for the first secretary (a person, as we know, who is new to the oblast). Naturally, no one was concerned about getting a sociologist, psychologist, or simply good orators on the team.

I learned about all of this when I was at a meeting of the first secretary with the voters. I have already written that not everything at the meeting by far pleased me. I said something to this effect to the secretary, who had not yet cooled off from the meeting. At the obkom, no longer concealing my alarm, I firmly advised that one or two comrades be sent to these meetings and to charge them to honestly and critically analyze the work of the candidate and his team.

"It is somewhat awkward to interfere in the activity of the first secretary," I heard in answer.

But Melnikov, unlike some of his predecessors, immediately gained the sympathy of obkom members, for his unpretentious democratism, straightforwardness, and readiness to listen to someone else's opinion. But even though they respected him, they could not rise to the point of telling him an unpleasant truth.

And it turned out that his failure in the elections was not entirely his, personally. It is also a consequence of the fact that the spirit of real party comradeship was lost.

"There are no losers," we said immediately after the conclusion of the elections. But there are losers. And, essentially, we should be happy about this. Because the losers were not so much individual personalities, and, of course, not the party (an overwhelming part of the people's deputies of the USSR are Communists), but the losers were the typical stereotypes, methods of work with the people, and the obstinacy of old social and political habits.

Several days after this, when the results of the elections became known, the first secretary of one of the party raykoms answered the following in response to my question about what conclusions he drew for his future election campaign for the rayon soviet:

"But I have not yet decided whether I will run. Does the first secretary have so little work in the raykom that he can harness himself to this wagon also?"

He said that he literally forgot the decisions of the 19th party conference. Nonetheless, it is not excluded that he understands everything very well, and that it was the ardent desire of other party workers that he forget these decisions specifically.

No, not everyone by far has drawn the proper lessons from the elections. And the main lesson is this: one has to learn how to conduct a dialogue with the workers. The errors and blunders about which we are talking here result from an inability to conduct such a dialogue and from a lack of strength and courage for such a dialogue. And the main danger is that for some there is even now a lack of strength and courage to understand the reasons for their defeat. And this has to be talked about in a straightforward way, and without beating around the bush.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets 18 May

PM2205104589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] A regular session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium was held 18 May to examine the issues of the results of

the repeat elections of USSR people's deputies held on RSFSR territory 14 May 1989, and the progress in preparing the draft RSFSR laws on amendments and additions to the RSFSR Constitution and on elections of RSFSR people's deputies and local soviets.

The Presidium also examined the question of the measures being taken by Kalinin Oblast soviet and economic organs to fulfill the suggestions and comments made by deputies at soviet sessions. V.A. Suslov, chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee, delivered a report.

It was pointed out that Kalinin Oblast soviet and economic organs, guided by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference and by the requirements of Soviet legislation, on the whole ensure compliance with the set procedure for examining suggestions and comments made by deputies at soviet sessions and take specific measures to implement them in practice. In the majority of soviets the suggestions and comments made by deputies are taken into account when drawing up economic and social development plans and long-term targeted programs, and in decisions by local organs of state power and management. Labor collective councils, organs of the population's amateur social activity, and deputies' formations participate in realizing them. The work done has had a positive impact on the processes of improving management of the local economy and on strengthening the social thrust of the oblast's economy, and has helped to increase the pace of development and fulfillment of plans for housing construction and consumer goods production and certain other very important targets.

At the same time the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium pointed out that the system of work with deputies' suggestions and comments which has taken shape in the oblast does not rule out instances of a formal attitude to fulfilling the questions raised by them, and still does not ensure observance of state and executive discipline.

Many measures to realize deputies' suggestions and comments are outlined without regard to the actual opportunities or the existence of the necessary financial and material resources. Proper control over their implementation is not always ensured. Permanent commissions, deputies' groups and posts, and organs of the population's amateur social activity are poorly involved in this work.

It was emphasized that deputies themselves do not always display initiative and persistence in realizing the suggestions and comments they make at sessions, and make poor use for this of requests and appeals to leaders of soviet executive committees, enterprises, establishments, and organizations. Certain soviet executive committees do not analyze progress in fulfilling deputies' suggestions and comments and rarely brief them on the work done.

In its adopted resolution the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium demanded that Kalinin Oblast soviets ensure the full realization of the provisions of legislative acts defining the procedure for examining deputies' suggestions and comments made at soviet sessions, and more vigorously organize their fulfillment. Autonomous republic supreme soviet presidiums, kray and oblast soviets, and soviets of autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs are instructed to more closely coordinate work on fulfilling suggestions and comments made by deputies at soviet sessions relating to fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum guidelines with the processes of democratization, glasnost, and restructuring in all aspects of Soviet society's life, and with enhancing the role and prestige of the people's elected representatives.

The following spoke on the question under discussion: K.F. Filatov, chairman of the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium; B.K. Chabdarov, chairman of the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; G.G. Tsakirov, chairman of the Kalmyk ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and V.Ye. Smirnova, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Presidium session also examined certain other questions of the republic's state life.

The session was chaired by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Vortonikov Chairs Session

LD1805215689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] A routine session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium took place today. It examined matters concerning the results of the repeat elections of USSR people's deputies on the territory of the Russian Federation which were held on 14 May and progress in preparing draft laws of the republic amendments and supplements to the RSFSR Constitution. The Presidium also examined measures being taken by the local soviet and economic bodies of Kalinin Oblast to fulfill proposals and observations made by deputies at sessions of the soviets. Some other matters in the state life of the republic were also examined.

The session was chaired by Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Northern Minority Regions Discussed

LD1905132689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1708 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 18 May. (TASS)—Correspondent Valeriy Kiosa reports:

The improvement of socioeconomic conditions and the preservation of the traditional way of life for the minority peoples of the north—such is the main content of measures for the further development of the northern districts of Russia. They were discussed today at a session of the Presidium of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic Council of Ministers.

The great deal of attention which the government of the USSR's largest republic devoted to this question is connected with the fact that in past years the socioeconomic development of the northern regions of the USSR was not carried out with any consideration of the interests of the minority peoples who live there. This problem has recently been widely discussed in the country. At the same time, it is noted that its resolution requires thoroughly thought out measures to guarantee equal conditions for the development of every nation and ethnic group, regardless of size.

At today's session it was noted that there has not yet been a radical breakthrough in the economic and social development of these regions.

Trenchant criticism was levelled at the leaders of many republican ministries and departments present, who at the very least have a negligent attitude toward the implementation of earlier adopted government decisions. This concerns first the construction of housing and social projects. The ecological situation is giving serious cause for concern.

The government of Russia outlined concrete measures to speed up the socioeconomic development of these regions that are to be implemented within the next 2 years. Particular attention will be paid to the development of traditional northern industries: reindeer breeding, hunting, and fishing, which will allow a substantial improvement in the food supply in these areas. It is planned to create and expand nature reserves and nature and cultural complexes to preserve natural resources in the north. The teaching in schools of northern ethnic languages will be expanded and qualitatively improved, and the training of qualified cadres with higher and second special education will be restructured.

Vorotnikov Tours Leningrad; Meets With Workers
PM1905081989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Stay in Leningrad"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum was an important milestone on the path of restructuring, orienting the party toward living links with the people and political methods of leadership. V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, visited Leningrad 16-17 May to explain the plenum decisions and familiarize himself with the activities of the Leningrad party organization and local soviets. He visited a number of industrial, agricultural, and trade enterprises and cultural establishments, had numerous conversations with working people, and met with USSR people's deputies elected in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast, with members of the oblast soviet executive committee [oblispolkom] and the city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom], and with the party aktiv.

At the "Kirovskiy zavod" association V.I. Vorotnikov familiarized himself with production, the results of the collective's work under the new management conditions, and the prospects for developing the enterprise and modernizing the equipment produced. In conversations with workers in the shops and at a meeting with representatives of the labor collective there was an interesting discussion on the results of the elections of USSR people's deputies, on the renewal processes under way in the country, on urgent socioeconomic problems, and on changes in the spiritual mood of society.

The "Kirovskiy zavod's" Communists argued the need to enhance and strengthen the party's prestige and closer links between its leading organs and local organizations. The meeting discussed ways to overcome negative phenomena in the economy, to improve the population's living standards, and to supply it with the necessary goods and services. All labor collectives, V.I. Vorotnikov emphasized, must make their contribution to this cause. The stand of many enterprises which are poorly involved in producing consumer goods gives rise to concern. They make up just over 2 percent of the total production volume at the "Kirovskiy zavod."

V.I. Vorotnikov made a trip to Tosnenskiy Rayon and visited the "Detskoselskiy" State Farm, with whose working people he held a constructive dialogue on the problems of supplying the people of Leningrad with vegetables and other agricultural products, on the development of the countryside's social base, and on problems of cooperation between industry and agriculture. He made a high assessment of the new techniques being introduced for cultivating agricultural crops, which considerable ease and reduce physical labor. In conversations with the working people of the joint Soviet-West German "Lenvest" Footwear Enterprise it was pointed out that this form of cooperation has made possible a substantial improvement in the quality of consumer goods.

Questions of the state of trade and the possibilities of improving its work and more fully providing the city with foodstuffs and goods in mass demand were raised in Leningrad stores and in conversations with city folk.

V.I. Vorotnikov had a meeting with USSR people's deputies elected in Leningrad and the oblast. There was a lively exchange of opinions on the soviets' role in the country's political life and the preparations for the upcoming Congress of People's Deputies. V.I. Vorotnikov pointed out that the USSR Congress of People's

Deputies is called upon to promote the consolidation of all progressive forces to advance restructuring, democratize the country's life, and form a rule-of-law state. It was emphasized that the party will continue to play its leading role in society.

In conversations with members of the Leningrad Oblispolkom and Gorispolkom mention was made of extending the rights of local organs of power and enhancing their responsibility for affairs on their own territory. It was pointed out that party, soviet, and economic organs in Leningrad and the oblast must accelerate the economy's social reorientation and focus their activity on ensuring a speediest improvement in the life of the population. Progress in preparing new laws governing the soviets' activity, including the Law on Local Self-Management and the Local Economy, was discussed. Tasks connected with the upcoming elections to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the republic's local organs of power were examined.

Talks were held at Smolnyy with the city and oblast party aktiv, in which the tasks facing Leningrad Communists were analyzed.

V.I. Vorotnikov was accompanied by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad Oblast party committee; N.I. Polov, chairman of Leningrad Oblispolkom; and V.Ya. Khodyrev, chairman of Leningrad Gorispolkom.

Vorotnikov Comments on Findings

LD1805145489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2200 GMT 17 May 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Vitaliy Ivanovish Vorotnikov is in Leningrad. The chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium visited the Kirovskiy Zavod Association and the Detskoselskiy State Farm, and talked to working people. He looked around the production facilities of the Lenwest joint Soviet-West German enterprise. Its collective is dynamically increasing the production of attractive and quality footwear. Incidentally, the Lenset's high profitability has made it possible for the enterprise to reduce by a third the retail price for a type of lady's shoes. Also, Comrade Vorotnikov familiarized himself with progress of the reconstruction of the Salvation-on-Blood Cathedral, a major historical and architectural monument. He looked around the Russian Museum's collection of paintings. He then met with USSR people's deputies elected in Leningrad and the oblast, party, and local Soviet leaders. [Video shows Vorotnikov and delegation at the Kirovskiy Zavod, the Lenwest, and at cathedral]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] For quite a long time Leningrad has been regarded as a successful town in many respects. The processes of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost, and a principled approach to some problems, however, have highlighted many serious difficulties and issues in the life of this large city. What are, in your opinion, the most important problems and what are the most feasible ways of solving them?

[Vorotnikov] Well, I think that the problems experienced by Leningrad are characteristic also for other regions of our country, such as Moscow, Rostov, Kharkov, and others. I do not see anything that would allow one to assert that something extraordinary is taking place in Leningrad. Of course, the solution of economic problems is first on everyone's mind. Frankly speaking, they require greater attention, so to speak, from central bodies and local, soviet, party, and economic bodies. Social issues require solutions too. Some social problems are being solved in Leningrad in a better way than, say, in Russia in general, but in some other issues Leningrad is lagging behind and should pull itself together. There are problems of an ideological or moral nature too. People have now become less constrained, so to speak. The processes of social renewal, which are under way throughout the country in the sphere of restructuring, highlight more prominently both the problems and the response to these problems by the population and representatives of various social groups.

Some problems are more acute in Leningrad, others are less acute. I think that Leningrad's party organizations, local soviet organs, and the media should advance in the spirit mapped out by the 19th party conference and the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum. They should not only expose shortcomings, so to speak, they should not only state problems, but they should suggest concrete ways, means, and methods to solve those problems. There should be, of course, a certain self-possession, tact and, I would say, politeness in discussing these issues because when emotions start to spill over, it does not always promote the cause. But a businesslike, principled and party-minded conversation should take place and our task is to arrive at the congress in such a way that the congress should become a forum for the consolidation of all our forces. We should develop such an action program there and create organs that will promote a solution for the great and complex problems facing our party and our people. And if each and every one works hard at his work place, if the center works in community with the republics, and the republics work together with oblasts and rayons then, no doubt, success will be guaranteed. [end recording] [video shows Vorotnikov talking to the correspopndent in a hall]

Baklanov Urges Penza Oblast Party To Lead Reforms

PM1905160189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Enhancing Responsibility for Restructuring Many Times Over"]

[Text] Soviet people and the country's party organizations are discussing in a principled and interested way the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum

decisions and the tasks of achieving the goals set by restructuring and resolutely implementing measures on which the people's increased well-being depends.

Penza Oblast communists have outlined the priorities for work in the light of the plenum decisions. At a meeting of the oblast party organization's aktiv held here 17 May they keenly and exactingly analyzed the possibilities for increasing the contribution of every labor collective and of the region as a whole to the creative processes of renewing our society and stated their desire to overcome everything that is still hindering confident progress along the path charted. This was spoken about by V.A. Sazanov, first secretary of Penza CPSU City Committee; N.M. Buyanov, first secretary of Luninskiy CPSU Rayon Committee; K.P. Urishov, turner and drill operator at the Electronic Computer Equipment Production Association; Yu.A. Bogomolov, director of Kuznetskiy Rayon's "Yevlashevskiy" State Farm; Yu.A. Laptev, chief of the Oblast Soviet Executive Committee Health Care Department; V.A. Vlasov, chief of the CPSU History Department at Penza's V.G. Belinskiy State Pedagogic Institute; Ye.F. Shkurov, deputy chairman of the Oblast War and Labor Veterans Council; and I.V. Urnev, general director of the "Rubin" Science-and-Production Association. O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed the gathering.

The discussion taking place here, he said, is essentially a continuation of the frank debate which developed at the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum. This convincingly attests that our party now lives for a single idea, the single desire to achieve a resolute breakthrough on the historic path of revolutionary restructuring. The comrades' pithy and sharp speeches clearly showed that none of us party members has remained passive or indifferent to the events occurring in the country. We really are going through an exceptionally complex stage of development. Tremendous work is getting under way and gathering momentum, and a real breakthrough into the future is being made. The policy of radical changes inspired by the CPSU is becoming the policy of our entire people.

The elections of USSR people's deputies were a graphic reflection of the processes occurring in the country. In assessing their results it must be emphasized that the elections were held under conditions of broad democratization, glasnost, and openness and provoked a real explosion of civic activeness and an ardent and interested discussion of urgent questions of the people's life and the country's development. Their most important political result is that the people voted for restructuring.

The elections, the speaker went on to say, were held in a complex situation. Alarm and concern at the way things are going in practice had an effect. People can well see that restructuring in a number of areas is not producing the results we were counting on. The food and housing problems are being resolved only slowly, and there is a shortage of consumer goods. The situation with regard to finances is grave. Ethnic issues have been exacerbated, and urgent ecological problems are arising in all their magnitude.

This is why it is particularly important that even under these conditions the Soviet people came out unequivocally for restructuring and supported the party line of society's further revolutionary renewal. Restructuring has essentially become a movement of the whole people.

But the people demand more vigorous work by party, soviet, and economic organs in resolving urgent problems. They must not tarry over implementing a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the causes of the slippages which are hampering confident progress. While not absolving the center of blame, here it is necessary to look particularly attentively at how the locally granted rights and opportunities are being utilized. For this is the essence of the democratization of our life, of the political reform.

The regions' independence also demands of every party organization and every working person special responsibility for high end results from work. In coming out resolutely for restructuring, Soviet people have come out for socialism in its renewed, human aspect, which serves people and elevates the person. Each of us now feels the new atmosphere and his active involvement in the country's destiny.

It is very important to preserve people's confidence in ultimate success and to help them to take up firm positions. It is now more important than ever to consolidate all the healthy forces of society. One of the party's chief tasks is to achieve this.

We are obliged to look realistically at life. This view convinces us that not all people have an identical reaction to the current processes. Much about them is unusual and complex. It seems to certain people that everything has been shaken, and some people cast doubt on the policy of democratization, self-criticism, and glasnost. On the other hand, attempts to cancel out our entire past at a stroke and to discard our historic gains and moral values cannot fail to be seen. Let us talk about this with the utmost frankness.

The people have no need of half-truths. As was honestly and firmly pointed out at the plenum, there are details, breakdowns, and failures, but there is a principled course—the one of which V.I. Lenin said: Socialism is the living creativity of the masses. And restructuring is designed to elevate the person in all spheres of life. Only then can he be relied on in the most complex situations.

In order to draw the correct conclusions, a principled political analysis of the situation must be made without attempting to embroider it. The party is capable of such an approach, of new thinking, and has already proved this by raising the country and the people to restructuring.

Soviet people see the party as a real and reliable political force. The CPSU has received a nationwide mandate of trust. The most important thing now is to justify this mandate by practical deeds.

Among the priority problems on which the progress of restructuring depends the CPSU Central Committee secretary dwelt in detail on improving the health of the economy in the sphere in which the whole range of these issues was examined by the April plenum. Resolute measures are needed to overcome the country's grave financial position, the inflationary processes, and the imbalance in the domestic market. It is necessary to achieve preferential growth in labor productivity compared with wages and to improve social production efficiency. Scientific and technical progress, resource saving, and the persistent struggle for high product quality must be decisive factors of economic growth.

Speaking about the priorities of technical progress, the CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized the need to make tangible progress quickly in such very important spheres as machine building and electronics. Penza Oblast, he pointed out, bears great responsibility for resolving these tasks. The new capacities being created here are to give a significant boost to the use of electronics in the national economy, and all sectors. Cosmonautics, above all have an acute need for their output.

Penza enterprises have an important role to play in this sphere. A considerable part of their work is directly linked with our space programs. It is not by chance that I speak about this, O.D. Baklanov continued. On various grounds (and sometimes even without them) the opinion has been expressed recently that space is too costly and requires unjustifiably high material and financial expenditures without returning to society the funds invested in it.

The fact that such a viewpoint finds an audience reflects, of course, a serious shortcoming on our part. For too long people were shown just the outward, frequently showy aspect of man's difficult exploration of space. And yet qualitatively new solutions have already been found on the basis of space systems in the spheres of meteorology, communications, navigation, geodesy, research into the natural resources of the earth and the oceans, ecology, and astronomy. Here we proceed from the principle that everything advanced and progressive that has been tested and introduced in space technology must be returned to society and used in the national economy. The radical economic reform gathering momentum in the country demands accurate accounting of the efficiency of monetary investment.

Take this problem, for example: The development of the "Energiya-Buran" system has given the national economy more than 80 types of new materials whose use sharply enhances the reliability and the service life of many machines and mechanisms. Is this not of direct benefit to the national economy? It is important to make full use of it.

Materials obtained from space are already being used to resolve approximately 300 specific scientific and production tasks, and their chief consumers are geologists, agricultural workers, fishermen, and workers in the forestry industry and many other sectors. The savings which they obtain from space photographs alone approaches R1 billion a year. Space has an important role to play in resolving many ecological problems which rightly attract attention not only in our country but also throughout the world.

Space "prompting" is particularly valuable in terms of its immedicacy and objectivity. Is it possible to express in rubles our spending on space and the return on it? I am sure that it is, but let us ponder, because it is a question of mankind's opening up a new habitat. Is it really possible in such affairs to reduce everything just to money?

The saying is true: A miser pays twice over. We must not economize on science, in its most promising areas.

It is very dangerous to lag behind here. Let us recall how in the past we turned our back on cybernetics and genetics, and what came of that. We are having to expend colossal forces and means to repair that omission.

What is true is true. Many billions really have been invested in space. For long years expenditures alone increased on this path. Now the return on the money invested is increasing dynamically. The time has come to reap our "space harvest," which has been grown with considerable labor.

Going on to analyze the program drawn up by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers for improving finances and the economy, O.D. Baklanov devoted special attention to the role that the oblast, its party organization, and local soviets are to play in realizing it.

The promotion of the radical economic reform and the overcoming of freeloading sentiments and group egotism are particularly important now in the provinces, to which the decentralization of national economic management has delegated great rights. The inhabitants of Penza Oblast also have to achieve changes for the better in this sphere. While possessing great industrial, scientific, and agricultural potential, the oblast has not yet managed to commission all available reserves. A number of enterprises are working poorly for the domestic market.

All possibilities must be utilized to accelerate the resolution of the housing problem, which is acute in the oblast. Thousands of families need better housing conditions. There is an alarming situation in capital construction, where forces and means are still being dissipated and lengthy construction maintains its positions.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary dwelt in detail on the significance of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum decisions and the tasks of the oblast's working people in implementing them.

The party regards social questions and the gearing of all economic activity to the individual as being of paramount importance in its economic strategy. And an important contribution to this is being made by conversion, which will make it possible, for example, to increase consumer goods production 40 percent as early as next year thanks to the resources and capacities released. The proportion of production of civilian output by sectors in the country's defense complex will increase to 60 percent in 1990.

This powerful reserve has been tapped thanks to the persistent and active peace-loving foreign policy of the party and the Soviet state. M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the PRC has provided convincing new evidence of this.

The political and moral atmosphere in the country and society, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said, is now determined by the progress of restructuring and its specific results. Soviet people rightly associate the work on renewing all aspects and spheres of our life with the party, paying tribute to its role as the ideological initiator of the restructuring processes and as the people's political nucleus at a turning point in the history of the country and of socialist building. Such an assessment imposes a great obligation and increases many times over the demands on every communist. The people judge the party as a whole by the personality and the actions of every CPSU member.

Today, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said in conclusion, the cause of restructuring needs more than ever unity of will and action and a high degree of organization and discipline in communists. It does not become us to sit with arms folded, waiting for instructions "from above," and we have no right to let ourselves go to pieces and panic when we encounter difficulties or to flirt with those who use democratization as a cover for demagoguery and unhealthy sentiments.

We are the party, which means that we are obliged to learn to act more boldly and vigorously and know how to rally and mobilize all of society's healthy forces to that end. In whatever sector a communist works, today he is especially responsible for implementing the line elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th party conference. This personal responsibility stems from the CPSU Statutes, which are a single law for the millions-strong detachment of like-minded party members.

The struggle for rigorous observance of statutory requirements must be backed up by our increasing activeness and by specific organizational-political and educational measures. Heading restructuring, communists are raising the threshold of exactingness, starting with themselves. This is one of the chief demands of the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum.

During his stay in Penza and the oblast 15-18 May O.D. Baklanov devoted chief attention to the fulfillment of targets for accelerating the development of one of the most important areas of scientific and technical progress—the provision of electronic equipment. He discussed the resolution of this task in detail with specialists of the Penza Scientific Research Institute of Computer Technology and with working people at a computer plant, where a range of products meeting world standards has recently been created.

A computer equipment plant is under construction in Penza, which will mass-produce output determining the pace of progress in this sphere. However, the important construction project is lagging behind schedule and being carried on in a wasteful way, and work organization and standards are low. Many examples of red tape, departmental muddle, and irresponsibility were exposed during the CPSU Central Committee secretary's visit to it.

Specific measures to radically rectify this situation were worked out at a conference held at the Penza CPSU Oblast Committee, where there was a pointed discussion of ways to overcome the laggardness. Leaders of a number of central ministries and departments and scientists participated in it. Appropriate assignments were given, and it was emphasized that the oblast party organization and local soviets must enhance their role and place the enterprise commissioning schedule under unremitting control.

A range of questions on whose resolution the strengthening of the oblast's socioeconomic sphere depends was examined in detail. In shops at the Penza "Zavod imeni M.V. Frunze" Production Association, at the "Penzoblekspo" oblast intersectoral scientific and technical exhibition, and on a suburban hothouse farm there were conversations with workers and specialists on the possibilities for sharply increasing production of goods and foodstuffs, the demand for which is still not being met in full.

During a visit to new housing construction districts ways of intensifying it on the basis of developing the method of using organizations' own resources were discussed. Familiarizing himself with the organization of trade and services for city dwellers, the CPSU Central Committee secretary visited a number of stores and the market in the oblast center.

He had a meeting with people's deputies. A range of tasks was discussed, which the people's elected representatives have to resolve in order to carry out the voters' will and implement the tasks of restructuring.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary laid flowers at the monument to the military and labor valor of Penza inhabitants and visited the I.N. Ulyanov Museum.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied by F.M. Kulikov, first secretary of Penza CPSU Oblast Committee.

I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and O.S. Belyakov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Defense Department, participated in the discussion of the questions examined.

Completes Tour, Notes Shortcomings

LD1805151289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2200 GMT 17 May 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Comrade Baklanov has ended his visit to Penza Oblast. [passage omitted]

A meeting of the oblast party devoted to the results of the April plenum took place in Penza today. Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov spoke at the meeting. Part of his speech was devoted to the independence of regions and their contribution to the country's overall balance. The situation in certain oblasts is now causing concern.

[Begin recording] [Baklanov] Comrades, you produce the most powerful machines in the USSR. These machines required large memories. What is the problem here? The Penza computer technology factory is being constructed for producing magnetic disk memory, which is badly needed by the national economy. The construction is seriously lagging behind the fixed schedule. As we could see on the site, the project is developing very slowly, by and large, and in an utterly bad way. How else can it be evaluated if the expensive imported equiment that was purchased 3 years ago for the factory, in fact either has not been installed, has been installed only in part, or has been installed, indeed, and is being adjusted. It amounts to somewhat in excess of 100 million foreign currency rubles. One should ponder about that. What an amount of items could have been produced! The construction is already 4 years behind schedule. How much output could have been produced! Over R1 billion worth with this equipment over that time.

[Off-screen correspondent] Noting the role of communists in society's renewal, Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov stressed that, at a time of swift growth of the political activity of millions of people, responsibility for matters increases especially. He said, inter alia:

[Baklanov] You and I are party collegues and today we must in a particularly principled, searching, and respectful way ponder and determine the role of all is levels in deepening and imparting vital content to restructuring process and, primarily, in improving people's well-being. Every communist should, first of all, make himself answerable for all omissions and shortcomings in this respect. It was that way precisely that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev put the question at the CPSU Central Committee April plenum. There cannot be another approach because the party is made up of concrete individuals, therefore, they should be made answerable. The present situation in the country reflects a rapid growth of the people's self-awareness, society's politicization, and a natural desire to understand specificaly who runs the entrusted subject and in what manner, and who is who in the course of restructuring. [end recording]

[Announcer] Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov met a group of people's deputies. [video shows Baklanov speaking from the rostrum]

Alleged Moscow May Day Arsonist Tracked Down

PM2205154789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[R. Ignatyev report under the "Informed Sources" rubric: "After the Fire: What Happened in the Red Square Area on May 1?"]

[Text] The state security organs have completed their investigation into the case of arson which occurred in the Red Square area on 1 May 1989 during the festive demonstration. The culprit has been arrested and charged. Our correspondent asked Yu. Yakovlev, chief of the investigations department of the USSR KGB administration for Moscow city and oblast, to describe the incident in detail.

"The fire broke out on the roof of the administrative building of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification on 25 October Street. It was 1000 hours—the beginning of the May Day demonstration. The clouds of black smoke and flames were seen by the thousands of people who had gathered by that time on Red Square.

"The fire was reported immediately via the appropriate channels. A specialist fire-fighting team came to the scene of the incident. However, it wasn't able to get into the burning building straight away. The entrance was closed. The team had to go up the external fire escape. A hot oily liquid was pouring from the roof. The gates into the courtyard were also locked. The firefighters broke the lock and drove right up to the building. In 10-15 minutes the fire was extinguished. There was no substantial material damage.

"Immediately after the fire had been put out an investigation operational group from our Moscow administration set to work. Pieces of rubber, a packet, and containers with the remains of some liquid fuel in them were discovered on the scorched roof. During a thorough examination our staffers noticed a black wire leading from the lampshade in an attic room to the scene of the fire. Nearby they found an alarm clock wrapped around with insulating tape, an electric coil, and a block of plastic. It emerged that these strange objects formed a home-made electrical incendiary device. It was clear that the fire had not started by chance but had been arranged by someone.

A thorough investigation of the attic showed that someone had been there recently. Pieces of bread, a can of condensed milk, a torch, some batteries, and other items were discovered there. But the specialists' attention was drawn especially to a copy of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. The lower and upper sections of the newspaper where you usually find the publication details and where the address of the subscriber is written in by the mailman had been cut off. It was established that this copy of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA had been brought into Moscow from another city. From traces of saliva on the can it was possible to establish the stranger's blood group. That was all that we had to go on.

"More manpower was brought into the hunt for the criminal. The Moscow administration's staffers questioned a tremendous number of people and enlisted the militia. Work went on virtually around the clock but there were no results to show. It was not until May 5 with the population's active help that we were able to track down the organizer of the fire. It was V. Kastornyy, a 25-year old student from Rostov State University. He was near the end of his 3d year in the philosophy department. After committing the crime Kastornyy tried to change his appearance—by shaving off his moustache.

"It emerged from the arrested man's story that he had begun his preparations to carry out his scheme in March-April this year. He bought all the things he needed in a store. On April 29 he came to Moscow on the Moscow-Tskhaltubo train. He waited for dark to fall then went up the fire escape to the roof of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification building and broke into the attic. On the night of April 30 to May 1 the plotter fitted his incendiary device with a timer which makes it possible to cause a fire at any time and attached it to an electric wire—to his amazement the power had not been switched off.

"He placed his invention on the roof where he had previously put some highly inflammable materials. Next to it he put a rubber flask filled with nearly 6 liters of gasoline.

"Kastornyy set the alarm clock timer for 1000 hours on May 1. That was when the incendiary device was to go off. But at about 0400 hours he himself left the attic. He hid for some time at the Vagankosvkoye cemetery and in the Belorussia station's freight car siding. He did not leave Moscow until May 3....

"It was obvious to everyone that the fire in the very center of Moscow at the moment of the May Day demonstration was blatant political propaganda. During the investigation Kastornyy did not hide that fact. He attributed his actions to his hostility toward the socialist system.

"The investigation is over. V. Kastornyy has been charged with committing an act of sabotage covered by article 68 of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Criminal Code. The court will try the case and fix the punishment.

"I should like to point out that this crime would not have been possible if workers of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification and neighboring organizations had observed the elementary fire safety rules and also maintained the proper order in and around their building.

Muscovites Demonstrate Against Power Complex

PM2205163789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 89 p 2

[V. Rastorguyev article: "The Director Is Protecting You"]

[Text] Moscow—To the north of Moscow, in the region of the town of Mytishchi and the village of Chelobityevo, the construction of the Severnaya heat and electric power station [TETS], the most powerful of its kind in Europe, has begun. Its first stage alone will release 700 tonnes of sulfur dioxide and 130 tonnes of nitric oxide into the air a day. Other harmful substances will rain down on people and nature in somewhat smaller quantities.

The TETS is a real threat to the "Losinyy Ostrov" national park—the city's oxygen supply source—and to the Pestovskiy, Uchinskiy, and Klyazminskiy reservoirs which provide Moscow with its drinking water.

A protest rally against the construction of the toxic giant was held in the capital's Babushkinskiy Rayon on May 18.

The TETS near Moscow with its 250-meter smokestacks and its dense smokescreen are but a "modest" beginning. Using that smokescreen it is proposed to build almost 30 enterprises of various types here. They include a plant for the production of protein and vitamin concentrates which are harmful to humans, an incinerator, and an asphalt and concrete plant.... Is that where the warmth promised to Muscovites will come from?

Leningrad, Heroes Veterans Mark Victory Day
PM1805110989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Colonel V. Streltsov: "Heroes' Meeting"]

[Text] It would be no exaggeration to say that the assembly hall of the Leningrad District S.M. Kirov Officers' House had never before seen such a large congregation of holders of top homeland awards as on this day in May. The Military Council organized a meeting of Heroes of the Soviet Union and holders of the full Order of Glory, resident in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast, in the Officers' House on 5 May, to mark the 44th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War.

Around 200 veterans attended the meeting. They were warmly greeted by Colonel General V. Yermakov, district forces' commander, Lieutenant General Yu. Pavlov, district Military Council member and Political Directorate chief, and troops of the Leningrad Garrison. The meeting was attended by representatives of party and soviet organs, public organizations, and creative unions in the city and oblast. The meeting was addressed by Yu. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee; Hero of the Soviet Union Major General, retired, I. Klochkov, chairman of the Leningrad section of the Soviet War Veterans' Committee and USSR people's deputy; A. Gorshechnikov, soldier-internationalist, holder of the Order of the Red Star, and All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee Komsomol organizer at the district military hospital, and other comrades.

A letter from the heroes of the Soviet Union and holders of the full Order of Glory to all veterans of the Great Patriotic War and USSR Armed Forces was read out at the meeting. "It is the duty of every veteran," it says, "to contribute in every way to increasing the country's defense capability and improving military-patriotic education and young people's readiness to honorably augment the glorious combat traditions of the army and navy."

The meeting showed much interest in a letter to the Leningrad heroes and holders of the full Order of Glory from Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, and Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Leningrad Komsomol Forms Nationalities Committee
LD1205194189 Moscow TASS in English 1926 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Leningrad May 12 TASS—A voluntary public organization, "Committee-36", has been formed at the Leningrad city committee of the Young Communist League.

Its aim is to promote solution of problems of inter-ethnic relations. Its members are young workers and students, well-known scientists and workers in culture. The collective members include the Leningrad charity society. The youth group salvation which deals with protection and restoration of architectural monuments, Young Communists League organizations from higher schools and scientific centres.

"The USSR Constitution's 36th article, our organization is named after, guarantees equal rights to the Soviet citizens of different races and nationalities", TASS has been told by Vladimir Kavtorin, Committee-36 chairman, deputy editor-in-chief of the Leningrad ZVEZDA magazine.

"We are striving to promote realization of these guarantees. People of many nationalities have been living in Leningrad since its foundation. Natural is the desire to know their history, to preserve traditions and culture. But this is not easy to do. In Leningrad there are neither schools with tuition in languages of peoples of the USSR nor national cultural centres. The first step has now been made to remedy the state of affairs—a house of friendship of Soviet peoples has opened for countrymen to meet and to be engaged in folk handicrafts. But this is not enough. We want not only to communicate with each other but also to popularise accomplishments of national cultures, to reveal their interconnection and mutual influence," he said.

"The days of Lettish culture have recently been held in Leningrad, which were a success both with the Letts and the Russians. We are now participating in establishing national societies, student fellowships, courses to study national and Russian languages. Many people from union republics who do not know Russian well come to Leningrad to study and work," Kavtorin said.

Rumors of Impending Baltic 'Cataclysm' Denied
PM2305111189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 May 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Own correspondent I. Litvinova report under the "Rumors and Facts" rubric: "Ticket for the End of the World?"; last paragraph is editorial commentary]

[Text] Riga—"So, what's going to happen," my neighbor asked, "a flood or a tornado?"

I shrugged my shoulders: There is another version about a meteorite. Take your pick, as the saying goes.

During the "120 Minutes" television program Bulgarian soothsayer Vanga allegedly announced an impending cataclysm, which would supposedly take place in the Baltic republics in May-June. However odd this may be (or maybe it is not so odd) no one saw the program personally. But megarumors are sweeping Latvia. People are grabbing their telephones and firing off letters to editorial offices. A youth newspaper has printed snippets

from a few letters. The Ivanov family from Daugavpils writes "in behalf of many families": "Approximately 3 million people will die in the Baltic republics, a meteorite will land, there will be typhoons, floods are possible in Latvia and along the shores of the Daugava." Pedagogical institute students surmise: "There will either be a dreadful tornado or a huge meteorite is expected to fall into the Baltic causing a catastrophic flood."

Meanwhile people are buying plane and train tickets. Do they want to flee from the end of the world? Or are they simply rushing off on holiday before the catastrophe breaks?

From the Editorial Office. How did this rumor arise? We tried to ascertain this by calling the Central Television Main Information Editorial Office. It emerged that the program "120 Minutes" said nothing about a possible catastrophe. Moreover, we were assured by N. Ivanova, chief of the International Department, that the editorial office had no video material from Bulgaria featuring this soothsayer. It is hard to establish now whether any of the announcers or managers let slip this incautious phrase or whether the source of the rumor is unconnected with the television at all....

Lithuania's Sakalauskas Discusses Independence
AU2205200389 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 22 May 89

[Armin Wolf report on news conference given by Vitautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, in Vienna on 22 May; recorded Sakalauskas statements in Lithuanian with superimposed German translation between quotation marks]

[Text] Many mistakes have been made in the past, admitted Vitautas Sakalauskas, premier of Lithuania. Things cannot go on as they did in the times of the personality cult and stagnation, that is to say the era of Stalin and Brezhnev, he said. He supports the reshaping of the USSR, Sakalauskas said—by the way in Lithuanian, and not in Russian. The individual republics should conclude a sort of treaty with the union.

"Some functions will of course have to be carried out by the central administration, such as defense and oil production, but everything else should be decided on location. Thus, we are in favor of the Soviet Union, but we support new quality for this union."

A case in point is the law on economic autonomy, which was adopted in Lithuania last week. Up to now it has only been possible to control 11 percent of the republic's economy in the capital Vilnius, while 89 percent was controlled by Moscow. The new law is to attribute only 30 percent of the Lithuanian economy to the control of the central planners. Lithuania even wants to privatize parts of the agricultural sector. We want to bring the peasants and the land closer to one another again, the premier stated. Apart from state farms and cooperatives, there are also to be private farms in the future. Yet Sakalauskas rejects a complete secession of Lithuania from the USSR, as demanded by many citizens of his republic. Leaving the union would lead to an economic catastrophe in Lithuania, and is completely unrealistic, Sakalauskas noted. Nevertheless, he supports the national movements in the country. Lithuanian became the official language half a year ago, and the old national flag—without hammer and sickle—has been reintroduced, as was the old anthem. A change in the Constitution is to introduce Lithuanian citizenship, which is to be given to the 3.5 million citizens in addition to Soviet nationality. However, the premier does not support nationalists that are too radical.

"Of course there are hotheads everywhere, people who think that anything can be brought down overnight and changed. However, I can see nothing nationalist in the law that has established Lithuanian as the official language. The Lithuanians must have the right to speak Lithuanian; this has nothing to do with nationalism. There are some who do not like the fact that the word 'communism' does not occur in our old anthem, which we have reintroduced. Is this nationalism? I do not think so."

Vilnius now also requires from the party leadership in Moscow an official clarification of the much-quoted secret protocols of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939. This additional protocol left Stalin control over the Baltic Republics, which led to their annexation in 1940. Moscow has so far maintained that these protocols, which were published in the West, were faked and that there never existed an agreement with Hitler on the Baltic Republics. We now want an official statement from Moscow, Sakalauskas said. He does not claim that the protocols are authentic, he noted, but this is why he needs this clarification. The 130,000 Lithuanians who were deported in the aftermath of the annexation will now be rehabilitated, and their descendants will receive financial compensation, he said. However, there is one issue on which the reform-minded prime minister fully supports Moscow's course. He said that Lithuania does not need a multiparty system. Sakalauskas believes that what is important is the work of the people, and not the number of parties.

Estonia Contemplates Independent Economic Course
18200361 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 May 89 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Sokolov, editor of the section "Man and the Economy" of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA]

[Text] **At a news conference in the office of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] permanent representative you could not miss the statement by M. Titma, Estonia Communist Party Central Committee secretary for ideology, that "Politically we shall pursue this to the end (the**

introduction of regional cost accounting—V. S.). A certain amount of localization of economic life is necessary, although it must be different for different republics."

The resolve to go "to the end" should apparently mean that there will be no more blank spots in the concept, that a clearcut program has been developed which will guarantee in the "end" the local flourishing of Estonia and the peoples who populate it. But the speech of R. Otsasok, chairman of the Estonia SSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] familiarized us only with the general concepts like "economic sovereignty," "local self-management," and "regional cost accounting as a transitional form from the old, departmental economy to the new, market economy."

This impression might be subjective but the responses to the questions from journalists reinforced it. "Do you intend to introduce a national currency?"—"Yes. National discussion has arrived at that conclusion and a final decision will be made by the republic Supreme Soviet." "In the event that such a decision is made how will you settle reciprocal accounts with the union? What about with foreign partners? What about payments within the republic?" "This is not the place to go into this in detail. We will not be working on this issue for a year or two."

What have the people been discussing if such extremely important aspects of monetary circulation have not yet been worked out? Yet the people are not indifferent to how, for example, Estonian automobile enthusiasts will pay for VAZ [Volga Automotive Plant] vehicles, how Estonian farmers will pay for Kazakh grain, or how Estonian women will pay for French cosmetics. With krona? But this means, if the first place, that VAZ, Kazakhstan, and France must have the opportunity to purchase for Estonian krona no fewer goods and goods that are just as good as what they can buy with rubles or Swedish kronors or Czech koruny, and so forth; and in the second place this means that all exchanges with the outside world will be much more rigidly centralized for Estonia than they are now, but at the republic level. In reality this leads to a situation where simply by changing the exchange rate for its currency the republic Ministry of Finance will immediately be able to collect additional duty on all goods that are shipped in from outside which the Estonian resident can now purchase at unionwide prices.

A Polish journalist attending the press conference said that his country's experience warns of great difficulties accompanying a reform of this type and the inevitable increase of social tension in the society. And he asked directly: Are you prepared for strikes and other excesses that accompany a deterioration of living conditions? The answer was equally direct: Yes, we are expecting an increase in social tension and the standard of living will decline during the first 2 or 3 years. But if others have gotten through it, so can we.

Good luck. But the sense of the vagueness as to why the workers of the republic would have to take on the extra burden did not pass. What guarantee do they have that with this concept there will necessarily be an increase in the standard of living even in 2 or 3 years? The price structure? The management structure? The respondents dodged these questions. Where is the program that has been deeply considered, read in detail by scholars, comprehensively discussed not only by the population of the republic but also by friends and critics from other republics? Where is the program of responsible actions that is to be considered by the Estonia SSR Supreme Soviet on 18 May? It has not yet been shown to us.

...When the press conference was over I was stopped by a colleague from Estonian radio who asked how LITERATURNAYA GAZETA sees the current position of our country's economy. I recalled an image from the dialogue between Vitaliy Moyev and Otto Latsis ("Minus 100 Billion," LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 4, 1989): Our economy now is like an airplane which has come out of a fatal tailspin but is still in a dive. Extraordinary efforts are needed to bring it out of its current position, and time is running out. My colleague liked the image. And does it not seem to you, he asked, that if the small aircraft is separated from the large one as soon as possible, both will straighten out sooner? No, I said, I do not think so because we might separate a piece of the wing, propeller, or stabilizer from the large aircraft—with equally sad consequences for the whole and for the part that has been separated. A large aircraft does not consist of small ones. And how strong it is will be shown by the reloading when it comes out of the dive.

Azerbaijan Bureau Views People's Deputies Tasks

NC2205075589 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau examined the question of the tasks and recommendations put forward by the members of the electorate during the election of USSR people's deputies. It was noted that the election of the USSR people's deputies on 26 May confirmed the high political maturity and social activity of the republic's citizens. The election was a mobilizing factor for the realization of the decisions adopted by the 19th CPSU Conference and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

During the elections, the voters put forward tasks and proposals to the candidate USSR people's deputies related to questions such as deepening the reconstruction course, further improvement in democratization and openness, upgrading the pace of social and economic development, restoring cities and towns, improving the work and (?living) conditions of the people, and preserving the environment. Significant attention was focused on matters related to ideological work, strengthening the training of workers in international and legal matters, and consolidating the moral and psychological atmosphere in the republic.

The bureau assigned the republic's Council of Ministers; the State Planning Committee; the ministries and administrations; the oblast, city, and rayon party committees; and the rayon and city soviet executive committees the task of (?studying) the jobs and recommendations the voters put to the USSR people's deputies, and to make concrete [word indistinct] and efforts to have them realized.

It was concluded that the party, soviet, and economic organs and other organizations must regard the realization of the tasks pointed to by the voters as an important duty.

Meanwhile, the bureau considered the report drawn up by the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium on the work being carried out to implement the tasks and recommendations put forward by the voters.

Interethnic Relations Discussed

NC2205074989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] The meeting that was held at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee examined the way the decision jointly adopted by the Azerbaijan, Georgian, Armenian, and Turkmen Communist Party Central Committees for the improvement of international relations, cooperation, and mutual activity is being realized. Party and [word indistinct] workers, leading officials of the ministries and main administrations, and representatives of educational and scientific trainiang establishments, creative unions, and mass media organs participated in the meeting.

Kasumova, secretary of the Baku City Party Committee; Feyzullayev, minister of popular education; Khalilov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Writers Union; Ali-zade, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Composers Union; Abbasov, chairman of the Caspian Oil and Gas Extraction Union; Polat Bulbulov, minister of culture; and Kocharli, rector of the Baku Higher Party School, addressed the convocation. Comrade Victor Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, summed up the meeting.

Aliyev, Dashdamirov, and Samed-zade, Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee department chiefs, participated in the convocation. The republic's newspapers will publish detailed information on the meeting.

New Balbekskiy Raykom First Secretary Elected

NC1905075789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] A plenum has been held by the Balbekskiy Rayon Party Committee [Raykom]. The meeting discussed the question of organization. In view of the serious deficiencies he has allowed in work, (Simoranov) was removed from his post as first secretary of the Balbekskiy Raykom and member of the raykom bureau.

Aliyev, who earlier worked as deputy chairman of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, was elected as first secretary of the Balbekskiy Raykom and member of the raykom bureau. Geydar Isayev, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Nakhichevan Oblast Party Committee, addressed the plenum.

Baku Commandant Approves School Graduation Events

NC1905081389 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 17 May 89

[Notice by the Military Commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] Esteemed residents of Baku, oral and written appeals have been made to the Military Commandant's Administration of the special district by individual residents of the city regarding the organization of the forthcoming evening graduation activities in the capital's schools.

I believe that no one should feel uneasy about this matter. As expressed in the letters written by individual [word indistinct] and students, no one wishes to deprive the graduates of a most pleasant opportunity in life. The Military Commandant's Administration does not object to the organization of evening graduation activities. However, since the curfew regime is in force in the Baku City Special District, all arrangements must begin before the curfew comes into effect. The graduates may promenade en masse in the streets of the city after the curfew ends.

Furthermore, we wish to make it known that the republic's Popular Education Ministry has adopted a decision concerning the organization of evening graduation activities in the schools.
[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

NKAO Airport, Water Supply Projects Detailed

LD1205175689 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—Airliners, capable of flying nonstop from Moscow to Stepanakert, will be handled as of the early nineties by the new airport that is to be built in the capital city of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. At present it is used only by 30-seated planes of the local "Yak-40" line. Two alternate projects of the new Stepanakert airport have been drawn up. One is calculated to handle 60-seater Il-116 planes, expected to appear on Aeroflot lines in the early nineties, and the second—larger TU-154 liners which will, naturally, require more landing space. This was stated by Yuriy Yurkin, deputy minister of civil aviation of the USSR, who was asked by a TASS correspondent to comment on his ministry's contribution to the March 1988 decision of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to

launch a large-scale programme of stepped up socio-economic development in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of Azerbaijan in 1988-1995.

"However, construction of the new airport is a matter of the future, though not of a very distant one", Yuriy Yurkin said. "But we have already fulfilled some of our commitments to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. The existing Stepanakert airport has been fitted out with modern radio-navigational equipment. It is particularly important for this highland community. Plans are afoot also to put up a new air terminal with all modern conveniences for the passengers."

The Ministry of Civil Aviation was among the first to contribute to the comprehensive programme of this highland region's socio-economic development. The Ministry of Communications, the State Committee of the USSR for Television and Broadcasting have also responded promptly to the adopted decision. They have dispatched to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region competent specialists to study the situation on the spot. Today the results of their work are obvious. The local population can already see TV programmes and hear broadcasts not only from Baku, but from Moscow and Yerevan, let alone Stepanakert.

The deplorable state of water supply in this mountainous region was one of its most acute economic problems. The situation is now changing to the better. The Karabakh central aqueduct has been put into operation. Construction of a water reservoir will solve the region's irrigation problem to a considerable extent. Merit for this will go to the Ministry of Soil Reclamation and Water Conservancy of the USSR.

A designing and building society is being set up in Nagorno-Karabakh. It has the purpose of expanding construction and assembly work in the region substantially. The planned 1.4-fold increase in housing construction will give every family a separate flat or private home by the year 2000.

However, far from all the central ministries and departments have gotten down to the fulfilment of the party and government decision in earnest. Much more is desired of them, for instance, in the development of the light and food industries, public health services and public education, in motor-road construction.

Hooligans Provoke Attacks on Yerevan Militia

PM2205123589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 89 p 1

[Own Information report: "Rally in Yerevan"]

[Text] On the evening of May 17 an unauthorized rally involving many thousands of people was held in front of the "Matenadarana" building in Yerevan. Before it began a group of several hundred hooligan elements provoked clashes with militia workers who were protecting public order, and attacked them with metal objects and stones. As a result nine students and one officer at the militia secondary special school and four staffers of the Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs received injuries of varying degrees of severity.

Militia staffers were not equipped with any special equipment or means of protection.

Measures are being taken to identify the people guilty of violating law and order.

Militiaman Apprehended in Armenian Bank Robbery

NC1505103089 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 12 May 89

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 12 May (ARMENPRES)—On 7 May 1989, at 2315 the alarm in the Charentsavan branch of the industrial bank went off at the Interior Ministry's Charentsavan headquarters. Two teams were immediately dispatched to the bank branch. The first team arrived there within 10 minutes after the alarm, but the criminals ambushed and killed L. Garabedyan, first lieutenant of militia, and R. Ogannesyan, the driver of militia. Five minutes later, the second team arrived on the scene and managed to apprehend one of the culprits some 300 meters from the bank. [passage omitted]

Following an investigation the crime was unraveled. It became evident that the crime was committed by the supervisory guard in the same branch of the bank. He has been working in the militia since 1984. In collusion with a few other people and by means of a ruse, he infiltrated the bank's branch and used a hammer to kill one of his colleagues on guard, Sergeant of the Militia S. Altunyan. Then, using the latter's gun, he killed the cashier and the two militiamen who had come to the bank. The R219 thousand taken from the bank has been found and returned to the state. [passage omitted]

On 10 May the burial of the martyred heroes took place in the presence of tens of thousands of Charentsavanites, the workers' representatives from Razdanskiy Rayon and other areas of the republic, and law enforcement officials. At the mourning ceremony it was declared that a monument will be erected at the Charentsavan victory park for those who sacrified their lives for the state's interests. Henceforth, the soviet militia enlisting into service will take their official oath in front of that monument.

'Harmful' Industry Plants Closed in Tumanyanskiy

NC1405064189 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] An extraordinary session of the people's deputies of Tumanyanskiy Rayon and of the Allaverdy city soviets was held in Allaverdy yesterday. The session unanimously decided to close down the ecologically-harmful metallurgical factory and the (?mercury) production units in Allaverdy.

Commenting on the session's decision, Saakyan, chairman of the Tumanyanskiy Rayon Soviet, pointed out that the government of the republic, together with the soviet republic's [word indistinct] metallurgy institute, accepted a relevant decision to close down and transform the harmful production units at the Allaverdy metallurgical complex on 1 January 1990. However, we consciously accelerated their closure because the ministry branch did not ensure the purification of the atmosphere of the city and of the entire rayon or the adoption of sanitary measures, he continued. Thus, the people's life and health were being threatened. The situation worsened, especially during the past few months, and marked harmful gas leakages were recorded. On 7 May dozens of people were poisoned, including many children. It was impossible to accept this situation, and the soviet of people's deputies decided to seize the opportunity that arose and solve the issue of closing down the harmful production units.

Kazakh Party Aktiv Stresses Restructuring Tasks

PM1805155389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Deepening Restructuring"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 17 May—Positive processes are insistently making headway in Kazakhstan's economic life. This was discussed at a meeting of the republic's party aktiv today which discussed the tasks of deepening restructuring processes in the light of the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum.

The report by G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, pointed out that the changes for the better now under way and the hopes of definitely overcoming the difficulties arising in the implementation of the economic and political reform are being linked by the republic's Communists to a considerable extent with the work to improve cadre selection, placement, and education. A great deal has been done to rid party, soviet, economic, and other organs, enterprises, and establishments of inert leaders who lack authority and have a poor record and a poor knowledge of the methods of political leadership and modern economic management. At the same time the aktiv meeting also cited cases of serious omissions in this important matter. People at local level still often approach cadre selection using the old yardsticks, disregarding democratic norms, glasnost, and electivity.

The meeting determined measures to further consolidate all efforts in the interests of deepening the restructuring processes and increasing Kazakhstan's contribution to the country's unified economic complex.

Kolbin Reports to Party Aktiv

LD1805083789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Positive processes in Kazakhstans' economic life are persistently developing. This was said today at the meeting of the republican party aktiv. A report by Comrade Kolbin, Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, noted that the Communists of the republic link the positive changes to a considerable degree with the work being carried out on improving the selection, placement, and training of cadres. At the same time, the facts concerning serious ommissions in this important matter were also cited. The meeting defined measures for further consolidating all efforts in the interest of deepening the processes of restructuring and increasing Kazakhstan's contribution to the united national-economy complex.

Kazakh Germans Revive National Culture

LD1905132789 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Alma-Ata May 19 TASS—"A German cultural centre has been set up by Kazakh public quarters to restore the historical truth about this ethnic minority", a TASS correspondent was told by Herald Belger, the eminent writer and member of the Commission for National and International Relations under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan.

"The main purpose of the centre, we believe", he went on, "is to give all-out assistance to the development of cultural traditions, popularisation and even revival of national customs in some places, establishment of circles for studying the native language (this is very topical, since the young generation knows no German due to the lack of national schools). And, of course, its task will be to furnish trustworthy information and 'declassify' certain documents. This is necessary to put an end once and for all to various insinuations influencing the attitude of people towards a whole nation—the Soviet Germans. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Herald Belger dwelt on violations of the principles of Lenin's nationalities policy, which were perpetrated against Soviet Germans in the Stalin personality cult period.

Only twenty-three years and one day after the liquidation of the Volga Germans Autonomous Republic in 1941, a degree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was issued on August 29th, 1964, exonerating them from all groundless accusations, particularly of having been "spies and saboteurs".

Definite progress has been made in the development of national culture after justice was restored vis-a-vis the Soviet Germans. Herald Belger told the correspondent, among other things, that there were now German language broadcasts in Kazakhstan, that the newspaper "FREUNDSCHAFT" came out regularly in the republic, and that there was a German editorial board at the :"Kazakhstan" publishing house. There is a Council of Soviet German Literature under the Kazakhstan Union

of Writers as of 1971. A German drama theatre was opened at Temirtau in 1980. A German language programme "Guten Abend" appeared on the Kazakh television this year.

A definite impulse to the process of national revival was given by the decision "on the study of German as the native tongue in the republic". True, it is making difficult headway.

It is necessary, the writer believes, to press for the restoration of the autonomy of Volga Germans. It is by no means necessary that only Soviet Germans should live within this autonomous territory. After all, it is an open secret that prior to the war there were 363.3 thousand Germans in the Volga Germans Autonomous Republic, i.e. only 27 per cent of their total number in the country. This question is not simple, of course. But it must be solved. And this should be done with due account for the interests of all the nations and peoples making up in our counry.

Kirghiz Bus Drivers Resolve Labor Conflict
LD1905132889 Moscow TASS in English 1318 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Frunze May 19 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Boris Mainayev:

More than two hundred buses were four hours late on the traffic lines of Frunze, the capital of Soviet Kirghizia, due to a conflict between the drivers and their administration. This happened on May 16th. Today the local press published a report on the settlement of this labour conflict.

The drivers demanded modification in the organisation and remuneration of their labour. The enterprise lags permanently behind its plan assignments. The administration gives insufficient attention to social questions. The transport workers endeavored to solve their problems within the enterprise for several past years, but to no avail. They applied to the republican ministry, but it did not help. Then the drivers decided to go on strike.

The Kirghizian Government is now busy solving the problems of this auto enterprise. On Thursday it passed a decision to raise the wages of drivers and replace obsolete machines and equipment. The document provides for measures to improve the supply of spare parts and expand production areas. The government has carved out land to build housing for transport workers, has allotted funds to improve their living conditions, organise proper rest for the drivers on bus lines. The decision enters into force as of June 2nd.

Tajik Party Plenum Discusses CPSU Agrarian Policy
PM1805092389 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 7 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The 13th Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held in Dushanbe 6 May.

Participating in its work, in addition to members of the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission, were first secretaries, second secretaries, and secretaries of oblast party committees [obkoms], first secretaries of city party committees and rayon party committees [raykoms], chairmen of oblast soviet executive committees [oblispolkoms], city soviet executive committees [gorispolkoms], and rayon soviet executive committees, leaders of ministries and republic departments, a group of party organization secretaries, specialists of farms and enterprises in the agro-industrial complex, scientists, senior officials of the apparatuses of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, the People's Control Committee, the Tajik Trade Union Council, and the Tajik Leninist Communist Youth League Central Committee, and representatives of the mass media.

K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report at the plenum "On the Republic Party Organizations' Tasks in Realizing the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum Decisions 'On the Party's Agrarian Policy Under Modern Conditions.'"

Speaking in the debate on the report were Comrades T. Mirkhalikov, first secretary of Leninabad Obkom; A. Mirzoyev, chairman of Khatlon Oblispolkom; B. Shamsiddinov, director of the Scientific Research Institute of Soil Science; G. Berdibayev, director of Murgabskiy Rayon's "Murgab" State Farm [sovkhoz]; R. Gafurov, first deputy chairman of the republic State Committee for Construction; A.Kh. Achilov, director of Cheptura Poultry Factory; O. Babadzhanov, director of Garmskiy Rayon's "40 let Tadzhikistana" Sovkhoz; A. Kadyrov, general director of Khodzhentskiy Rayon's "Khodzhent" Agricombine; M.K. Karimov, general director of the "Ordzhonikidzeabad" Agritrade Production Association; M. Nazriyev, chairman of the republic State Committee for Nature Conservation; E. Seitov, director of Dzhirgatalskiy Rayon's "Buston" Sovkhoz; S. Tagoyev, first secretary of Khovalingskiy Raykom; Ya. Musayev, chief agronomist of Ilichevskiy Rayon's "XXII partsyezd" Sovkhoz; M.K. Kasimov, general director of the "Bogparvar" Science-and-Production Association; I. Safarov, chairman of Kumsangirskiy Rayon's Lenin Collective Farm [kolkhoz]; Kh. Kasymov, first secretary of Gissarskiy Raykom; V.V. Vakhidov, first deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Agro-Industrial

Committee; S.F. Mirazorova, director of Dushanbe's "Shirin" Confectionery Factory; M. Salikhov, chairman of the Tajik Trade Union Council; M.M. Ikramov, chairman of Dushanbe Gorispolkom; B. Andarkulov, chairman of the board of the "Avangard" Cooperative on Ganchinskiy Rayon's "XXII partsyezd" Sovkhoz; and Kh. Nasredinov, republic minister of land reclamation and water resources. Sh. Mustafakulov, first secretary of Voseyskiy Raykom, and R. Naimov, cotton growers' team leader on Matchinskiy Rayon's Kalinin Kolkhoz, made suggestions over a free microphone.

K.M. Makhkamov delivered the concluding speech at the plenum.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the issue discussed. It will be published in the press.

The plenum examined organizational questions. V.P. Naumov was released from the post of editor of the republic newspaper KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in connection with his reassignment. The plenum approved as this newspaper's editor N.N. Kuzmin, who was working as first deputy chief of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department.

K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, reported to the plenum participants that a group of members of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee had sent the Central Committee a request to resign from the Tajik Communist Party's elected organs. In connection with their retirement on pension the plenum met the request of Kh. Gadoyev, V.I. Kozlova, R.M. Grishina, and K. Pulatov to resign. Requests to resign from Yu.N. Shcherbakov in connection with his move from the republic and from D. Usmanov in connection with a transfer to work in his specialty were also met.

The plenum thanked them for their work on the elected organs of the republic party organization and wished them well.

The plenum promoted the following from candidate to full membership of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee—N.A. Danilova, full-time chairman of the trade union committee of Dushanbe's Krupskaya Silk Combine; L. Kayumov, Tajik SSR foreign minister; B.I. Kodyrov, shepherd on Leninskiy Rayon's Khasan Sovkhoz; and A.K. Khamsariyev, driver of large trucks for the "Rogungesstroy" Construction Administration.

N.K. Dolgushkin, responsible organizer of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadres Work Department, participated in the plenum's work.

With this the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee plenum concluded its work.

2 Dead, Many Stricken in Uzbek Food Poisoning

PM2305100989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 89 p 4

[TASS report: "Diagnosis—Paratyphoid Fever"]

[Text] Turakurgan, Namangan Oblast—Two people have died and half of the 147 casualties have been diagnosed as suffering from paratyphoid fever; 30 percent of them are in serious condition. The cause was food poisoning after people ate fried fish at a local bazaar.

The patients linked the development of the disease to a visit to the market located on the territory of the "Uzbekistan" Collective Farm [kolkhoz]. This version has been confirmed by biochemical analysis: Paratyphoid "B" stimuli have been found in the patients' blood. One of the main causes is the neglect and unsanitary conditions at the market, the lack of basic conditions for trade, and the negligent attitude taken toward this lack of order by the market administration and local organs of power. The rayon soviet executive committee and the Shakhandskiy Rural Soviet had given permission for various dishes to be freely sold by unproven persons without coordinating matters with the rayon sanitation and epidemiology station, which was not equal to its duty.

Uzbek Paper Apologizes for Misleading Article

PM2205091989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article reprinted from KOMSOMOLETS UZBEKISTANA 5 May under the rubric "From the Local Press": "Boomerang"]

[Text] Nobody should have any doubts about the objectiveness of the headline. If our opponent is wrong, the "boomerang" will return to our opponent. If we have made a mistake, we will get our just deserts.

Remarks under the headline "Who Knows Uzbek in Tallinn?" were published 24 March. They were reprinted by PRAVDA 7 April. The outcome was confusion, whose nature we must investigate today.

Sharp polemics have developed in our republic on the linguistic problem. KOMSOMOLETS UZBEKISTANA joined the discussion on the question of language. The editorial office asked readers to voice their opinions on the matter. Telephone calls repeatedly raised with alarm the question of interethnic contacts and cited examples of business correspondence not being conducted in the Russian language. According to our interlocutors, some of the documents, instructions, and business papers arriving from Estonia, Lithuania, Georgia, and Armenia were in the language of these republics' indigenous peoples, creating certain difficulties. Furthermore, Academician Ya.K. Rebane of the Estonian Soviet Socialist

Republic Academy of Sciences, speaking at the republican House of Knowledge, envisaged such a situation and deemed it perfectly feasible if Uzbekistan, for example, recognized the Uzbek language as its official language.

On the basis of all this, we deemed it possible to publish that article without, of course, any specific attributions.

PRAVDA's publication of the remarks produced a broad response. Our editorial office was visited by Estonian Radio staffers. We received letters from our Estonian readers, insisting that they be given specific documents and addresses. But all our attempts to discover even a single letter in Tashkent's enterprises and organizations were fruitless.

Maybe there are not and there have not been any letters from Estonia in the Estonian language. Maybe the editorial office took advantage of unverified claims, published an untruth, and confused its readers. We can report that the guilty KOMSOMOLETS UZBEKISTANA staffers have been most seriously reprimanded. Letters with explanations and apologies have been sent to all interested parties.

We could have ended on this note of repentance but... where is all the smoke coming from if there is no fire? That was the question. During those tense days, while we were rushing around looking for letters, we often heard vague statements: "Yes, we heard about it, I recall one such case... it happened... it happened... it happened..." But as soon as we got down to business and asked to be shown the letter, the document miraculously disappeared: Either it happened a very long time ago, or the letter in question was never filed, or it was not to be found in the archives, or it was simply a matter of a "small mistake." Actually, we were almost successful at the republic's agro-industrial committee. It was not a letter but a book on pedigree livestock breeding. And not from Estonia but from Lithuania. Where did it come from exactly? Either from the Lithuanian Agro-Industrial Committee Pedigree Breeding Department or from a science and production association for pedigree breeding. Of course we saw it with our own eyes. How did we translate it? We didn't... And we received an entire dissertation for review purposes, in the Georgian language. We sent it back...

So, where is the smoke coming from?

We leafed through SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 27 April. Interview with Igor Ilin, prorector of the Riga Polytechnical Institute. He says: "Even though I am a "technician," I would nevertheless like to ask our ideologists: What about terminology which is nonexistent in the Latvian language? Where will it come from? And what will people do with our documentation in Latvian somewhere in, say, the Ukraine or Georgia? Will they urgently seek a Latvian translator, the way we deal with technical literature from Estonia nowadays? The whole world is trying to make scientific and technical documentation as user-friendly as possible. We are going in the opposite direction... Does this make sense?"

The alarm about interethnic contacts is not accidental. There is no smoke without a fire. We committed a serious mistake. And if we were to use anything in justification, it would be our alarm. And no reprimands can make it go away.

Uzbek Edition of ANGRENSKAYA PRAVDA Published
LD1305063589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0200 GMT 13 May 89

[Summary] The newspaper ANGRENSKAYA PRAVDA has been published for the first time in Uzbek, translated from Russian by its own journalists. The Uzbek edition will appear weekly.

Turkmen Officials Quoted on 2 May Youth Riots
18300617 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 May 89 p 2

[Article by I. Pasevyev: "Vandalism 'On Behalf of an Idea'?"]

[Text] **Who is behind the Ashkhabad adolescents; who put the rocks and sticks in their hands?**

On the morning of 2 May in the center of Ashkhabad I saw windows and showcases smashed to smithereens in video bars, discoteques, video game arcades, cafes, law enforcement posts, the directorate of the park of culture and recreation, the Ovadak consumer service house, the Gulistan trade center, the Ashkhabad Hotel, and the railroad station....

What happened?

There are always a lot of people in the central park for celebrations—this is practically the only place in the city where people can relax. And everything was like this this time. But let us consult eyewitnesses. First the director of the parks association V. Zakharov and the head engineer A. Karavayev:

"Beginning at noon on 1 May the situation became uneasy. Groups of adolescents were milling around among the people in the park and pushing people. And at 1445 hours one of them ripped the speakers from the directorate building and we were barely able to drag them inside the building. This seemed to serve as a signal. Rocks began to fly at the windows. Soon they broke into the office and tore up all the documents and scattered them through the park. They stole three tape recorders. Pelted by rocks, workers of the video bar managed to put a couple of television sets in well-protected areas. In the discoteque they broke all the mirrors, windows, and equipment, as they did in the Chatma cafe and the Sovremennik bar. They broke a couple of video games and caused tens of thousands of

rubles' worth of damage. Everything that was mentioned belonged to the state in spite of the widespread opinion that they were out to destroy the cooperatives. The vandalism continued until approximately 1730 hours...."

V. A. Grinin, Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] foreign affairs minister, major general:

"Initially the gathering of adolescents in the park did not seem suspicious. There were adult instigators: one apparently did not like cooperative ice cream, another claimed to have been cheated. In a word, they found an excuse to send in the kids. I was in the park and we did not undertake any active measures but relied more on persuasion. The youngsters answered me: 'Close the cooperatives, they are raising prices and getting rich....' Even when an adolescent throws rocks you do not beat him with a club or twist his arm! If we had cordoned off the park and brought in the heavy forces there could have been casualties and dissatisfaction with the militia. And the republic leaders asked us not to use force. In brief, we managed to get by without any casualties except perhaps for a couple of scratches."

S. A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan:

"We regard the incident as a shortcoming in the work of party and soviet agencies. I might add that the Komsomol [Lenin Young Communist League] does not deal with such a situation in the primary school or vocational and technical school. And the law enforcement agencies could have put a stop to it sooner....

"My son and I came to the park in the evening—it was half dark and empty. Only the patrols were wandering through the lanes, and in the distance one could hear police dogs. And from the summer house one could hear the music of a woodwind orchestra—waltzes, mazurkas, marches. It seemed that a calm had fallen over the city. And all this was in the past. But there was another celebration—and more alarming information. This time from the periphery.

"As I learned from the Turkmen SSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] on 9 May in Nebit-Dag, a city of Turkmen petroleum workers, a group of people from 16 to approximately 40 years of age (about 300 people), having held a meeting on the square and encountered no resistance, moved to destroy and burn cooperative facilities—and they destroyed 19 of them. They damaged six fire engines and set fire to a bus and motorcycle. Two militia workers were hospitalized and 17 were injured. Fifty hooligans were delivered to the militia station. The disorder continued until 2 a.m. An investigation is being conducted.

Turkmen Party Plenum Discusses CPSU April Plenum
LD1805223789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] The participants in the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee plenum in Ashkhabad today discussed the results of the CPSU Central Committee April 1989 Plenum and the possibilities of deepening the restructuring processes in the party organization of the republic.

Turkmen Interior Minister Discusses Drug Problem
LD1505130389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 15 May 89

[Interview with Major General Vasiliy Antonovich Grinin, Turkmen interior minister, by correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Fedorov] Vasiliy Antonovich, the following is a painful issue for your republic—drug addiction and the struggle against it. It is a critical problem. How is it being solved?

[Grinin] Drug addiction is a very topical problem for us. Unfortunately, we occupy one of the leading places in the country. We have 124 drug addicts for every 10,000 inhabitants. We have 3,900 people on our books already diagnosed as drug addicts by doctors. There are also those who are one-time users. They are voluntarily undergoing treatment in hospitals for drug addicts. Some we send to the clinic which we have for treating drug addicts.

[Fedorov] The problem of drug addiction also affects teenagers.

[Grinin] We have 150 teenagers on our books and 50 of them are already diagnosed as addicts. Unfortunately, they use not only drugs but also various medicinal plants. They make all sorts of mixtures and also use them to have fun, as they say. We use preventive treatment. We work with each teenager individually and methodically. Over the last few years there has been no increase as such. But the problem remains because, after all, an underage drug addict can suffer a relapse.

At present, Operation Poppy-89 is in progress. We have been having them for 3 years now. We have already discovered some 100,000 opium poppy and some hemp plants. They were discovered in some kolkhoz fields and in household plots. But the operation has only just begun. We seize a great deal and consequently the numbers of drug-related offenses has now sharply declined.

[Fedorov] And how have the leaders of kolkhozes and sovkhozes suffered? On whose territory was hemp found?

[Grinin] They suffer only administrative reprimands and fines.

[Fedorov] Does this help the struggle against drug addition or not? What do you think?

[Grinin] It does. In 1987, for example, we seized and destroyed some 800,000 hemp and poppy plants. Last year the number had declined some 480,000. Now, since the beginning of May, we have already seen a decline. We have uncovered several organized smuggling groups.

[Fedorov] They presumably had interregional contacts?

[Grinin] That is right. Not only from our country but also from Afghanistan, from other countries. These routes sometimes go through Turkmenia too. So, we work together with the KGB and hold people liable. Unfortunately, our employees do not always approach this conscientiously. Divisional inspectors could carry out preventive work together with rural soviets and settlement soviets to prevent sowing.

[Fedorov] And the following question: What is the percentage of cured addicts in your republic?

[Grinin] Eleven percent, sometimes 12 percent is mentioned. But these are not accurate figures.

Soviet Jews Set Up Federation of Organizations

AU2205238889 Paris AFP in English 2024 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 22 (AFP)—Soviet Jewish leaders met in Riga, the Latvian capital, on Monday to set up a federation of Soviet Jewish organisations, Serge Cwagenbaum [name as received], secretary general of the European Jewish Congress, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone. He said some 180 delegates representing 40 organizations had come from 30 Soviet cities to attend the meeting, which opened on Sunday.

They demanded the freedom to emigrate, the right to a distinct cultural identity and to form community associations, and the passing of a law on anti-Semitism. The future federation will aim to "intensify relations with world Jewish organizations," Mr. Cwagenbaum said.

Also attending the meeting was Kalman Sultanik of the United States, deputy chief of the World Jewish Congress.

Association of Northern Ethnic Groups Created

LD1905112489 Moscow TASS in English 1033 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—The main goal of the Coordinating Committee of the Association of Northern Peoples, initiated by Soviet writers, "is to promote the culture and literature of the Soviet northern peoples and to protect the environment of the region," committee head Vladimir Sangy told TASS.

Twenty six ethnic groups uniting over 150,000 people populate the coasts of the Arctic Ocean and the Pacific. Before the 1917 October Revolution most of them were illiterate. After 1917 schools teaching in native languages were built. A scientific institute was set up in Leningrad in the 1930s to create written languages for northern peoples.

Books by northern writers were published a few years later. Now the prose and poetry of Khanty writer Grigoriy Lazarev, ethnic Nenets Nikolay Vylka, Evenk Aleksey Platonov and Grigoriy Chinkov, Nanaian Akim Samara and Grigory Khodzherva and Udegue Dzhansy Kimonko are well-known to Soviet readers. Books by Chukcha Yuriy Rytkheu are read both in the Soviet Union and abroad.

These writers made a large contribution to the development of northern people's culture and prompted native language studies. Their traditions are being developed by modern writers, said Sangy.

Ethnic Nivkh Sangy, 53, himself created the alphabet of the Nivkh language for 4,000 people of this nationality. The first book of Sangy was published in Nivkh. Now his books are well-known thanks to translations into Russian and other Soviet languages.

New MVD Crime Prevention Administration Descibed

PM1705161389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 May 89 First Edition p 4

[Lieutenant Colonel S. Kalinayev report: "To Prevent Crime"]

[Text] A USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Crime Prevention Administration has been set up. This was announced at a regular briefing held yesterday.

What are the tasks of this subdivision? Major General of Militia B. Voronov, chief of the new administration, described them in detail.

First of all he noted that the prevention service, as it has been up to now, makes it impossible to cope with the increased volume of tasks efficiently and in line with modern standards. The main reason for this is the lack of coordination in the efforts of militia section inspectors, juvenile affairs inspectorates, and correctional labor inspectorates, which will now become part of one and the same service. Its objective is more specific and purposeful individual preventive work with people teetering on the brink of crime, and also the correction and reeducation of people sentenced to punishments which do not involve deprivation of liberty.

Behind this dry formula lies a very complex criminological situation in the country, and the unprecedented rise in the crime rate, which is causing general concern. People from various parts of the country are writing to soviet, party, and law-enforcement organs, and writing as if their letters were dictated: It has become dangerous to go out into the streets; please give us protection. A detail which is causing special concern is that more than 70 percent of all crimes are being committed by juvenile delinquents and young people, and among them especially people given to alcohol, drug, and toxic substance abuse.

They will become the main target of attention of the prevention service.

The overall "paramount task," if I may put it this way, was described by speakers at the briefing in two words—crime prevention. There are good prospects for this, judging by the range of proposed measures and actions. The new service will focus its constant attention on those who try to evade socially useful labor, disrupt order, and behave incorrectly in the sphere of family and community relations, and it will establish cooperation with labor collectives, public posts for the maintenance of order, and voluntary squads, and be responsible for coordination with state and social organizations.

It remains to be hoped that these and other forms of work will make it possible to improve the operational situation in the country's cities and villages and make it possible for everyone to breathe a sigh of relief.

Procedure To Deal With Bomb Threats Urged
PM1705093589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 89 p 1

[Article by own special correspondent S. Petrov under the rubric "Situation": "Someone Has Planted...."]

[Text] Yesterday, returning from an assignment, I found myself a witness to and participant in a drama played out at 0420 hours on the airstrip at Mineralovodskiy Airport.

While taxiing for takeoff the pilot of the Il-86 aircraft, A.A. Zavyalov, (flight No 1216, from Mineralnyye Vody to Moscow) was instructed by the airport shift chief to immediately terminate the flight. According to him, 5 minutes before this an unknown man, speaking with a Caucasian accent, had informed the information bureau by telephone that there was a bomb on the aircraft.

In a matter of minutes the passengers, totally unsuspecting as to the cause of the delay, were ushered without panic into the airport waiting room. The aircraft itself was towed away to a remote part of the airport and cordoned off by militia and fire-fighting detachments.

A KGB and Internal Affairs Ministry operations group embarked on a search of the aircraft, including the luggage the passengers had taken on board. At 1000 hours it was decided that the aircraft would continue with the flight.

Of the 350 passengers, 7 refused to continue with the flight, because they had already missed their connecting flight. A son and daughter missed their father's funeral. All in all, a total of 123 transit passengers missed their connections and are currently being forced to take shelter in Domodedovo, Sheremetyevo, and Bykovo, waiting for places on other flights.

I would like to draw attention to the fact that this incident is certainly not unique lately, and that it is high time the organizations responsible for passenger and equipment safety started ensuring that special equipment is available in every airport to make it possible to react immediately to telephone calls of this nature and ensure that the aircraft and luggage are checked in such extreme situations.

From the editor: We would be interested to hear the views of the Civil Aviation Ministry on this problem.

Unpublished Story of Stalinist Executions Revealed
LD1305042989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1923 GMT 12 May 89

[From the "View" program, presented by Vladimir Mukusev with Vladimir Yakovlevich Tsvetov]

[Excerpt] It happens sometimes in our broadcasts that people who have themselves been presenters turn up on the other side of the presenter's table. This is what happened with Vladimir Yakovlevich Tsvetov.

I had a phone call earlier about an urgent story. Vladimir Yakovlevich, what has happened?

[Tsvetov] Quite simply a package from Kiev has just arrived. It contains a letter and a typeset page from the Newspaper VECHERNYY KIEV.

[Mukusev] Can I have a look?

[Tsvetov] I'm just about to read it out. Just listen to the letter that has arrived along with this proof. Listen carefully:

Comrades, read what I am writing to you. I, Ivan Yefimovich (?Mokhchan), was born 21 January, 1905 in the town of Belaya Tserkov. I attended four classes of secondary school and then worked at a factory until 1920. In 1923 I joined the Komsomol. In 1928 I served in a department of the Kiev UNKVD [directorate of the NKVD, People's Committee of Internal Affairs] as a private guard. We lived in barracks on (?Sovetskaya) Street, No 5.

Three times I took part in executions. The first time was at the beginning of April 1934. There were nine of us soldiers. Our commander was Grigalevich; I don't remember his first name. We brought eight men in a lorry to be executed. We made it to (Solomenskoye) cemetery, but we couldn't get any further because of the terrible mud, so we went on foot to (Bateyevka). There was a large ditch there, very deep. We climbed into it and executed the enemies; then we buried them. One of them had a leather jacket. Grigalevich told me to take it for myself, so I shot the man in the head in order not to spoil the jacket. I had a Tsarist rifle, and Grigalevich had a revolver. I only had 10 rounds, so I only killed 4 men. The second time, I took part in two executions in 1938. The 1st time we executed 29 people, 4 of whom were women. The 2d time there were 39 people. Both times the executions were at Babiy Yar, a little lower and to the right of where the monument stands now. Again I shot them with a rifle, but some of my comrades had revolvers. At the time my comrades told me that there were lots of people who had been executed by the NKVD. Then, too, I killed four. We sprinkled some earth on them and set off for the town. At the time I was very proud that I was acting for our party and for comrade I.V. Stalin.

I don't have long to live, and I want everyone to know where those who were executed are lying. I know that many people were executed there, more than 200 people. I am not giving my address, to ensure that I live out my life in peace in my little house. Let Our Lord God judge me. I have nobody left. My wife died in 1979. Nowadays everyone is repenting, and I repent too. Forgive me, good people.

That, then, is the letter. He says he acted for the party: I believe he acted against the party, because some of the party fell under the shower of bullets from these butchers, these marauders. The letter, generally speaking, is not just addressed to us, not just to those of us who want to establish the truth. But it is also addressed to those Stalinists who believe that nothing of the sort occurred, that there were no executions, that everything was right and everything was wonderful.

The letter was never published, nor was this page from the newspaper VECHERNYY KIEV. [video shows proof entitled: "line of misfortune"] It is hard for us to say what prompted the people who banned publication. I only know—and I have a letter here about this, too—that the newspaper asked the government commission that is currently investigating the burials of 1937-38 in Kiev either to comment on this page or to endorse it for publication. The commission returned the letter to the newspaper without the tiniest note and without endorsing it for publication. [passage omitted]

'Insidious Irresponsibility' Imperils Restructuring

PM1905124589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Yevgeniy Solomenko "Journalist's Notes": "A Few Words About Responsibility"]

[Text] Novosibirsk-Tomsk—Candles burn and flowers, red as blood, lie on the stones of Rustaveli Boulevard. The wind alone plucks the hectic red apples from the trees in the dead orchards of Chernobyl. Scarlet stars burn like eternal beacons of tragedy over the graves of our "Afgantsy" lads. How much more pain, blood, and misfortune must we suffer before we realize how high is the price of that vitally necessary concept—responsibility?

I walk along the Tom River. The gray, gloomy water is still hemmed by white, snow-covered banks. Here, in September 1983, dredge No 13 scooped up a bomb from the riverbed and deposited it on the deck of a barge, on top of a big heap of gravel. If they waited for the sappers to arrive, the bomb would sink deep into the gravel. So the three of them—Sergey Vasin, shift assistant commander of the dredge, Yuriy Belyayev, a trainee from the Rostov River School, and Oleg Dushatkin, senior motor mechanic—carefully carried the bomb, their legs buckling with the weight and the fear, onto their own dredge. They put it down and secured it so it wouldn't slip overboard.

There was another member in the crew as well. He ran off. In general, just one seemingly elementary sense—responsibility—would not let the other three, scarcely more than boys, leave that terrifying post.

Why did all this suddenly come to mind? Because today we are all confronted, now in one place, now in another, by the sinister fin of a bomb deposited on the deck of our common ship from the silty bottom, deep whirlpools, and invisible currents of the great and as yet little-explored river that we call life. The life of society, of the country, of the peoples inhabiting it.

Just recently, here on the banks of the Tom River, there was an incident of seemingly purely local significance. In the middle of Sunday 16 April a group of several dozen lads (mostly vocational and technical school students) rampaged through the Tomsk market, or flea market, to be blunt. They rushed up to speculators selling tapes and videocassettes and began to drive them away and to trample on and take the tapes—they took 13 videocassettes from one "businessman."

This was how the Tomsk "Robin Hoods" had decided to "impose order" and to combat the rampant speculation in these scarce goods. The militia and passersby immediately detained 26 of the young raiders. An investigation is now under way. But that is not the end of the story. Tomsk is crawling with rumors:

"Youth gangs are operating! They're going to stage pogroms and violence 20-21 April! There are leaflets all over the city directly threatening massive violence against women and children!"

True, no one had actually seen the leaflets with their own eyes. But schools, kindergartens, militia precint houses, and party committees received lots of anonymous phone calls making precisely that kind of threat. The militia

took preventive measures and prepared for the possibility of outrages, and the leadership of the Internal Affairs Administration made radio and television appeals to residents. On 20 and 21 April many parents did not let their children attend school or kindergarten. But nothing horrible happened in the city.

Thus one irresponsibility breeds another, that breeds a third, and then a whole avalanche comes hurtling down upon us. An effective system of economic levers has not yet been organized—and planning organs and industry are working correspondingly badly. As a result shortages have people by the throat. But trade bosses point-blank "fail to notice" how these scarce goods drift from bases and store outbuildings straight into the hands of speculators. Our control and investigative organs wage a feeble, ineffective struggle against the black economy—so now hotheaded teenagers "restore justice." Which in turn enables anonymous provocateurs to enmesh an entire city in a web of fear.

A chain reaction of irresponsibility. A directional blast wave that threatens to smash the still fragile structures of restructuring. And increasingly loud and confident voices are heard throughout the country, on streetcars, in offices, in lines in stores, and from television screens: "It's time to put a stop to this anarchy!" "That's enough playing at democracy!..."

It's no joke: We have run up against sharply increased sociopolitical activeness on the part of various groups and strata, but many of our party organizations, soviets, and law enforcement personnel proved unprepared for this.

A disturbing sign of the times is the growth in strikes. Now bus drivers refuse to work, now miners, now timber processing workers. In Tomsk even criminal investigation staffers went on strike a little while ago.

Sixty-one taxis drew up outside the Novosibirsk Oblispolkom [Oblast Soviet Executive Committee] in the morning of 11 April. The strike was prompted by an experiment that had begun there 1 April. All Novosibirsk cab drivers were switched to cash payment for fuel—instead of gasoline coupons they were given an appropriate amount of money. Then clearly understated normatives came to light. Even a brand new car consumes more than the specified amount of gasoline. To say nothing of an old, beat-up car (such as makes up most of the local taxi pool). Previously the cab drivers were not greatly bothered by these norms: They would get hold of "under-the-counter" coupons from truck drivers for a pittance. But now that they have to make up the difference with their own "real" money....

Of course, there were some mercenary questions, but on the whole the strikers' demands were fair. The taxi pool is junk and the roads in the city are appalling. No preparations were made for the start of the experiment; it was begun unthinkingly. So there you have it: They began to combat embezzlement of state gasoline and "under-the-counter" coupons, and they dredged up a whole series of absolutely unexpected problems. Many people blame restructuring for this: See how many new ills it has caused! But it has not caused them, it has revealed them. The ailments are chronic and date from those "tranquil" decades. Today we are having to pay heavy debts falling due on very old IOU's that we did not sign.

But we must pay. And swiftly! The chain reaction continues—and the striking collectives, angered by real outrages, are themselves beginning to "grab more than their fair share": We'll work in the old way, but you raise our wages! In other words, let's have money up front! And they do not see that they are actually robbing themselves and irresponsibly pushing the country's financial system, already in serious difficulty, toward the abyss, toward crisis, toward inflation.

Some mysterious "advisers" are already hovering round the malcontents. On the morning of 11 April in Novosibirsk one such anti-Soviet adviser hastily flew into the crowd, but he got his lines crossed: He took Novosibirsk taxi chief A. Litvinenko, who was at the scene, for a striker and began to "teach him how to go about things":

"Why are you guys just forming a crowd on the street? You'll get nothing here. You should go over there, to the oblispolkom and the oblast party committee, and flush those parasites out of their offices; they've been there so long they're covered in moss and mold."

Nearby a woman agitator was shouting and stoking the situation. Both Litvinenko and the party committee secretary already knew both these individuals from the rallies staged by the local "Pamyat" informals. Realizing that today they would be unable to get things properly to fever pitch, the newfound instructors disappeared.

There are provocateurs, gray shadows hiding behind the back of the working class and surreptitiously nudging that back: "Go on! Smash things up! Seize power!" And "Smash things up!" is meant not in a metaphorical but in the most literal sense. Recently, when the workers of the Tomsk petrochemical combine were meeting for an election conference, there was precisely such a shout from the hall. Extremists from the "DS" [Democratic Union]—"fighters against dictatorship" who hanker after a different dictatorship—are openly calling for violence, with blood and a bullet-pocked "wall."

There are only two tracks we can follow—either toward democracy and a rule-of-law state or toward a "tightening of the screws" on the lid of an already overheated steaming cauldron that's threatening to explode, toward tanks at intersections, toward a "tug-of-war." And yet we have "champions of freedom" who are pushing the

country toward disorder, seeking deliberately or otherwise to get other people to shift the switch to the second, dead-end track: "The worse, the better."

But why do these anonymous figures calling for their "moss-grown" occupants to be unceremoniously expelled from their leadership, "apparatus" offices think they can expect their call to succeed and working people to support it? Precisely because these offices are indeed occupied by plenty of sloth-like people lagging behind the times. A characteristic feature of the transition period is that a champion and a retarder of restructuring are often to be found working in the same apparatus, with only a thin wall separating them. You look at them and wonder: How many parties are there within our party? After all, the CPSU is both the party that proclaimed and opened the floodgates of restructuring, and the party whose committees often lag behind restructuring. And the sooner our party and soviet organs get rid of these retarders in the office, the more chance these organs will have of becoming real headquarters of restructuring.

The concept of "responsibility" is a weapon requiring very careful handling. Because it easily becomes a noose to strangle everything new and out-of-the-ordinary: "If it doesn't fit my way of thinking, it's irresponsibility!" Pin a label on something and turn your back on it. No need to analyze, seek, or uncover the causes.

Take strikes again. We can argue as much as we like that this is the wrong way, that labor collectives should raise and resolve their problems some other way. Yes, some other way! But this kind of exhortation will change little, while party committees all over the place are still "stuck on the starting line," to use the current in phrase. Translated, it means they're trailing in the wake of events.

A peculiar feature of our restructuring is that it started at the top. And it will stay bogged down so long as many labor collectives do not regard it as their own personal cause but see it as a milch cow handed down from above, reaching out with their buckets and bowls and shouting: "Gimme!"; "Raise my wages (irrespective of my performance)!"; "Build me a rule-of-law state!" But a rule-of-law state doesn't mean just a new, improved, progressive code of laws; first and foremost it means a high degree of responsibility on the part of citizens, and tolerance and respect toward dissenting views.

We say: "We are currently in a period of transition." Transition to what? Freedom and happiness, the City of Light? Or will our transition loop sharply around and take us back to bondage, muteness, and new witch hunts? And where we are taken by the tunnel of transition we are building now depends not only (or maybe not so much) on the Central Committee general secretary or the Politburo and the country's Supreme Soviet as on the driver or tractor driver, designer or steel worker that we mentioned before.

We thought that democratization meant an easier life. But it transpires that in many respects it's harder. Harder to make choices, make decisions, tell the truth.

The following episode occurred at the No 173 school in Novosibirsk recently. Sergey Kovalev, an engineer from the neighboring "Sever" association, was known to people here: By agreement with the school director he had used one of the classrooms to hold classes for Novosibirsk residents wanting to quit drinking and smoking. On 7 April he went up to head teacher L. Oboyanskaya and said:

"Larisa Ivanovna, there's a possibility we could invite a good lecturer from Akademgorodok to the school. He could talk about the problems of the ecological situation in the city!"

"Fine. Why not? It's an important and topical subject."

The next day at the appointed hour not one but several people turned up at the school. The new arrivals glanced into the school hall and were astonished:

"Why have you gotten the children together?"

"What do you mean? To listen to your lecture, of course."

"What lecture?" the visitors were completely nonplussed. "We've come for an election meeting, to nominate candidates. These two are your future candidates, and we're their agents."

It became clear that the impresario who had booked the "lecture group" had lied to visitors and hosts alike. One of the visitors suggested to school director I. Golikov:

"Dismiss the kids but keep the adults here. We might as well talk about our platform."

The schoolchildren were sent away. The two candidates' agents spoke, and then a new proposal was made:

"Let's vote to nominate them from your collective and draw up an official record of the meeting!"

The teachers voted in favor almost unanimously (there was one abstention). Admittedly a timid doubt had been voiced at the beginning:

"But we've already nominated another candidate—the director of the 'Sever' association!"

But our prankster friend Kovalev the engineer dispelled the doubts: "Haven't you heard? Our director has already withdrawn his candidacy!"

In brief, the teachers placidly decided to advance the new candidates' cause. But only 5 days later the school collective—again under the chairmanship of their director I. Golikov—canceled their original decision. For it transpired that they had been simply deceived: At the time in question the director of "Sever" had not refused to run.

So a new official record of the meeting of the No 173 school's labor collective saw the light of day: "...It subsequently became clear that the philosophy and platform expressed were incomplete and unobjective, and the action group which B.P. Gavrilko represented turned out to be the 'Pamyat' society. The collective disagrees with this society's activity."

A sordid story indeed. And what is particularly striking is how weakly the director, teachers, and Communists at the school behaved: First they took one view, then the opposite. It would be no bad thing for the educators of the younger generation to learn firm convictions of their own rather than believing hearsay and following obediently behind anyone who will lead the way....

We say that labor collectives and primary party organizations must be more active today in tackling major social questions. As we can see, not all collectives are ready to tackle them.

The question is: Who is going to teach them? Who today is going to lead the masses, become their genuine leader—in school, taxi pool, city, republic, country? Bloodthirsty "DS" extremists? Bellicose nationalists and chauvinists of every stripe? Or Communists? But for this to happen each one of them must really be in the vanguard and never lag behind what life requires.

Currently a great deal is changing in the CPSU's life. And the fundamental question for the party is whether it can restructure itself resolutely and rapidly, win people's complete trust, and get people everywhere to follow it.

There is the responsibility that the Communist has to the party and the citizen has to the country. But there is also the responsibility that the party and its Central Committee have to Communists, the responsibility that the country and the government have to their citizens. In recent decades they were both violated God knows how many times! And this large-scale irresponsibility inevitably gave rise to small-scale, individual irresponsibility. What demands can you make of a plumber when the country's planned economy can't provide him with even minimal amounts of the most basic plumbing equipment?

Responsibility is a many-faceted crystal. There is responsibility to the law and responsibility to morality. There is also responsibility to the rules of your political organization. Another kind—material responsibility—is dictated by the economy. The supreme mathematics of life demand that we discover the integral uniting these previously fragmented components of responsibility.

OK, the country has developed its own space shuttle. But is this indisputable victory going to instill pride in someone who hasn't gotten anything to clean his teeth with, or rapture in a housewife who hasn't gotten anything to wash the clothes with? All this is politics, too. And people—who are underfed, poorly dressed, and bowed down by universal shortages—are entitled to make this complaint.

Lenin said that nobody will ever be able to discredit the ideals of communism unless Communists do it themselves. Currently some party and soviet officials and economic leaders are indiscriminately accusing "informals"—representatives of politicized groups—of being irresponsible in their statements, accusations, and promises. Especially since there are ample serious grounds for such complaints. But these officials forget that today you also have to eradicate the irresponsibility in your own activity, not only in the ranks of your opponents.

The fear which took root back in the Stalinism years has started to fade out of our lives—it is a gradual and very tentative process, but nonetheless it has begun. So what happens? The same irresponsibility which for all these years and decades was masked by personal diligence has floated to the surface. And now, bereft of its protective convoy, this undesirable and totally unattractive object flits into and out of view.

We are taking the first steps toward a rule-of-law state. But we won't get there unless we instill in ourselves a sense of real, high responsibility. We have to study it—one of the most essential and important sections of the science of democracy.

The very terminology to which we have long become accustomed is indicative. What are "responsible officials?" Central Committee, ministry, oblast party committee, oblispolkom officials. So what are miners, engineers, doctors—irresponsible? "Responsible official of a tractor team" sounds almost like a joke. Although in practice that machine operator could turn out to be better, more responsible and more useful to the country than some immovable fixture with a big office and a gorgeous secretary. But we've long since become acquiescent and accustomed to the way things are, and are no longer upset by gradations of responsibility that are wholly dependent on which official rung you occupy.

Today the question of responsibility is a question that concerns the future of the country and the future fate of restructuring and democracy.

I also think how insidious irresponsibility is. And the following thought comes to mind. Our dredge has hauled up to the surface a bomb which used to lie hidden on the river bed. This bomb is on our deck. Are we going to hide? Run away? Or resolutely defuse it?...

Restructuring of Public Education Discussed

PM1705140189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Schools on the Path of Restructuring"]

[Text] Slonim (Grodno Oblast), 13 May—An all-union seminar which ended here today was devoted to deepening the restructuring of public education and stepping up educational work with young people. Deputy chiefs of ideological departments of union republic communist party central committees and kray, oblast, and okrug CPSU committees participated in it. The Grodno Oblast party organization's experience of work in improving the leadership of public education and fulfilling the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the Central Committee February (1988) Plenum was discussed.

In plenary and section sessions there was an exchange of opinions on a wide range of problems concerning the influence of the economic reform on improving the education system, national and regional features of the development of secondary and higher schooling, the restructuring of the teaching of social science disciplines, and the strengthening of their role in the communist education of pupils and students. Attention was devoted to special features of the work of educational institutions under conditions of growing democratization and glasnost and to the enhancement of the vanguard role of Communists in restructuring public education.

Questions of restructuring state-social forms of management of the public education system occupied an important place at the seminar. The conviction was expressed that the 190 USSR people's deputies working in this sphere will make a weighty contribution to restructuring secondary and higher schooling.

During a "roundtable" meeting, in which leaders of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the USSR Academy of Pedagogic Sciences, and the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League Central Committee also participated, paths were charted for the practical realization of the political and ideological guidelines of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum on deepening the restructuring of the education system.

V.V. Ryabov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, participated in the work of the seminar.

Teaching Trends in Social Sciences Examined

PM2305090589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 May 89 p 2

[Statement by secretaries of Moscow higher educational institution (VUZ) All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League (Komsomol) committees, with commentary in the form of an interview with G.F. Kutsev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education, conducted by S. Sokolov: "In the Wasteland of Dialectics: On the Crisis in Teaching the Social Sciences"—date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Statement by the Association of Secretaries of Moscow City VUZ Komsomol Committees

We, the secretaries of Moscow city VUZ Komsomol committees, consider it essential that the most topical questions concerned with teaching the social sciences be submitted for broad discussion.

We support the course of humanizing education. Common human values and the most significant discoveries and theories, irrespective of their national or class provenance, should be paramount.

This requires a substantial reduction in the amount of compulsory material studied in our present social sciences courses, namely, the reduction and revision of the content of the course "The Political Economy of Socialism" and the abolition of the course "Scientific Communism." Moreover, we deem it expedient to replace the course "The History of the CPSU" with the more topical course "The History of the USSR" and the course "Marxist-Leninist Philosophy" with "The History of Philosophical and Political Studies."

We do not claim the absolute truth, but consider that this question must be publicly discussed and resolved democratically with the involvement of all interested parties. [end of statement]

[Sokolov] How do you, as a social scientist and sociologist, regard the assessment of the state of the social sciences expressed in the aforementioned letter?

[Kutsev] Well, all these problems are well known from numerous meetings with teachers and students. The need for fundamental changes in the teaching of social sciences was indicated by 63 percent of students and 70 percent of teachers in a recent piece of sociological research carried out in March this year.

Indeed, it could not have been otherwise, given that cognitive and critical-revolutionary social thinking has been constantly supplanted by propagandist and ideological functions. Political documents were until lately identified with scientific studies. It is understandable that in such a case the task of social scientists was defined as being to comment on "learned" documents and to find facts in real life that corroborated them.

And yet I consider that the social sciences possess a sound core of knowledge about our society and the modern world. Yes, there are "blanks"! But can there be a science without "blanks"? Even geography has them. Yes, there has been an exaggerated ideologization of social sciences courses. But who is hindering us from decisively getting rid of all this today?

[Sokolov] As far as I am aware, you made attempts in the past to "get rid of all this" and were accused—for your pains—of a "non-Marxist" approach in sociology...."

[Kutsev] Yes, sociological research has often supplied information which was at odds with heartening collections of statistics and optimistic reports. Sociology, as a kind of mirror, has drawn a not very attractive picture of real society. Most of the surveys of Siberian new cities carried out by our laboratory were stamped and then disappeared into safes, while the ills of the new cities continued.

When sociological data and ideological precepts came into conflict it was obvious who ended up on the losing side.

A comrade said to me in a fit of temper after a routine conflict regarding work: "What does Genghis Khan need sociology for?!"

However, there was another side, too. All sociological research costs a lot of money, and we were given it by farsighted economic managers and party leaders.

[Sokolov] The years have passed by and you are no longer dependent, but rather the fate of higher education depends in many respects on you, the senior officials in the public education apparatus. What kinds of changes in the teaching of social sciences are proposed by the USSR State Committee for Public Education?

[Kutsev] Maximum freedom of creative initiative for every teacher is the sole feasible means of effecting change.

That means abandoning the rigid regulations that stipulate in the recommended syllabuses—I stress recommended—only the minimum of basic topics. Roughly half the topics in the new syllabuses that VUZ's are to receive before the beginning of the next semester will be compulsory. The remainder will be determined by the department itself, dependent on the VUZ's specialism, the nature of the future profession, and national and regional characteristics. It should be stressed that students will have the opportunity to participate in drawing up the syllabuses. The council of social sciences departments will, while maintaining the amount of teaching time for social sciences, be able to redistribute it among individual courses or use it to introduce new courses.

All the changes in teaching will thus to a crucial extent depend on the actual VUZ and its departments. Teaching, if assessed realistically, cannot, however, be better than the actual quality of the specialists in each specific VUZ, no matter what textbooks and syllabuses are employed.

[Sokolov] But is it, in fact, interesting to listen to a social scientist when we know that he has been merely rehashing textbooks for decades?

[Kutsev] I agree that there are quite a few conservative-minded teachers committed to outmoded ideological and psychological stereotypes working in social sciences departments. They have adopted a wait-and-see policy. But maximum departmental autonomy will quickly sort everything out: It will make them change radically or else vacate their posts for others. Will they be able to restructure themselves? I think so.

Syllabus commissions and collectives of authors are now working away. Meticulous scrutiny of the scientific validity of our knowledge of the social sciences is under way.

[Sokolov] Gennadiy Filippovich, in your speech to the All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers you sugggested a multiple-option course of "Scientific Communism": Some would study scientific socialism, others the sociopolitical theory of Marxism, a third group political science or sociology.... Will this idea be implemented in the near future?

[Kutsev] We are simply not yet ready to teach political science and sociology. Training of sociologists is only just beginning in our leading universities.

As for abolishing certain social sciences courses, including scientific communism, we should not be hasty here, in my view. Forget the label. It is surely interesting to know the sociopolitical theory of society as understood by Marxism-Leninism, is it not? Particularly as under the new syllabus the economist will really study the theoretical bases of social policy, social planning and forecasting; the pedagogue will study the theoretical questions of the educative process; and the engineer will get to know the theory of social planning and management. It is the content, not the title of a course that counts.

The same can be said about the the course "The History of the CPSU." It needs to be conceptually revamped and related more organically to the history of our country and the history of the international communist movement. This course should serve to some extent as a political history of our society. This needs time, of course. One must not substitute one half-truth for another. Historians have gigantic labors ahead of them. And their labors are under way.

[Sokolov] All this is alluring; however, students are still unable to contemplate with equanimity their impending state examination in Marxism-Leninism, introduced 18 months ago. Perhaps we really should abolish this patently ill-considered examination?

[Kutsev] The actual idea of an examination seems to me, for example, perfectly reasonable. The fact that, as usual, the first attempt did not pan out is another matter. The centralized examination syllabus comprising four different courses has proved overburdensome. Even some teachers cannot pass it without thorough preparation.

Every VUZ is entitled to prepare its own state examination syllabus. It may include any number of interdisciplinary questions. Such a syllabus will be founded upon the basic course for a given specialism. For example, political economy for the engineer and philosophy for the historian. And the form of the examination may vary. It can be a traditional exam based on a random choice of questions or take the form of an oral account of a topic chosen by a student or written work prepared in advance.

In short, you make your own modifications.

[Sokolov] And yet I honestly acknowledge that I have been unable hitherto to understand how one can seriously talk about a first-rate knowledge of Marxism-Leninism without knowing, say, the theory of Herbert Marcuse, the spiritual leader of left-wing radicals and French students in 1968, or having read his celebrated book "One-Dimensional Man"? Since it is absolutely pointless to try to refute, for example, Marcuse's thesis that Marxism-Leninism is out of tune with our times without in-depth knowledge.

[Kutsev] Yes, and it is not just a case of Herbert Marcuse—that oracle of the New Left. Non-Marxist concepts—ones, moreover, which are often far from being the most contemporary—are poorly represented in our social sciences courses. New methodological approaches and new scientific knowledge enshrined in modern philosophy and the economic and historical sciences abroad are virtually unused by us.

And yet this not only impoverishes our knowledge of contemporary society but also creates in students the impression that Marxist-Leninist theory is developing on the sidelines of the main path of modern civilization. I think that it is important not simply to understand this situation but also to quickly plug the gap existing between our science and social scientists and the development of world humanitarian thought. That means a lot of work—the translation of literature and also periods of study for specialists at foreign universities, including courses of instruction for students. Incidentally, do you know what is the most popular scientific society in America's Stonehill College? It turns out to be "Stonehill Students for the Development of Communist Sciences." The college president is proposing a student exchange with us. We, naturally, are in favor.

[Sokolov] You mentioned translating literature. What sort? You cannot study philosophy via textbook expositions. Do you intend augmenting VUZ libraries with new editions of the works of such philosophers as, for example, Hegel and Nietzsche (published in the twenties), Sartre (whose main philosophical works have not been translated into Russian), Fromm (unpublished)....

[Kutsev] I will put your question to the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade. But we, for our part, would be grateful to publishing houses which published foreign and national philosophers. There are almost no classics of pre-Marxist philosophy, political economy, and utopian socialism in our VUZ libraries. There are not enough monographs and scientific journals. Duplicating equipment is out of our reach.

True, we have, nevertheless, managed to achieve something. Republic publishing houses and major universities recently obtained the right to publish educational literature on the social sciences. We are encouraging VUZ's to prepare and publish alternative textbooks, lecture courses, and manuals.

Unfortunately, both the structure and the content of social sciences courses have remained virtually unaltered for a quarter of a century if you discount the facile "cosmetic" repairs undertaken after routine party congresses and the change of political leadership. For a developing science about a developing society such a situation is unpardonable, to put it no stronger than that. It is one of the main causes of the crisis situation in which social sciences departments find themselves.

Ministries Fail To Provide Needed AIDS Equipment

18300610 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 May 89 p 2

[Article by S. Blagodarov: "Multiple Injections"]

[Text] It might be said that none of us was born under an auspicious star—the smog of AIDS hangs over the planet. Some experts are predicting that mankind will be "mowed down" with devastating results in the years immediately ahead.

But the ministries on which readiness to deal with the misfortune in our country depends are still underestimating the danger and are playing the old game of options. It is a question of criminal delays in the production of disposable syringes.

How many lives they might have saved during the catastrophe in Armenia, when thousands of mutilated bodies were being pulled from the ruins, and there were simply no conditions or time for sterilizing regular

syringes. And here we also recall the high infant mortality rate, when infants die from infections introduced by unsterilized ordinary syringes. In general the hospitals, maternity wards and blood transfusion stations long ago grew tired of waiting for disposable syringes.

Two years ago the government made it incumbent upon the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry and the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems to bring production of disposable syringes and needles up to 3.25 billion and 3.9 billion respectively annually by 1991. This would scarcely cover our needs.

The following plants have had to be closed because of troubles: the Leningrad Medical Drugs Plant, the Mtsenskiy Biochemical Plant, the Tyumen Medical Equipment Plant, the V.I. Lenin Medical Instrument Plant in Gorkiy Oblast, the "Prizma" Test and Mechanical Plant in Yaroslav Oblast, and others.

Today all the buildings are virtual ruins. But the ministries were given a reasonable time to organize production. Before Soviet equipment was developed the country purchased from abroad two sets of equipment for R14 million. Alas! Instead of the planned production of 400 million syringes last year it was barely possible to use the production capacities to produce a mere 35 million.

And what are our domestic capacities? In Gorkiy and Yaroslav oblasts they have only just started to work on the technical-economic calculations and draft documentation to develop new production facilities. At the Tyumen Medical Equipment Plant, instead of the 400 million syringes and 1.4 billion needles planned for this year, it is proposed that they produce ten times as many of the former and five times as many of the latter.

It is not happenstance that the USSR Ministry of Health has received from the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry only half of the 100 million syringes planned. And its own output is only 7.5 million. The rest have been brought in from abroad for currency. But even here, things have become absurd. In the pharmacy network more than half of the imported syringes were sent without needles, and cannot be used.

The entire program planned for the commissioning of capacities this year to produce 2.2 billion syringes has failed. Consequently the comrades responsible have no respect even for themselves, since they ignore their own decisions. But they will probably forgive themselves. Will the patients, though? But alas! They cannot influence this process.

The main difficulty is that there is no Soviet equipment to produce syringes and needles. The planning and designs organizations of the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry have frustrated work on design documentation. Quietly avoiding the government instructions, the period for development of a test model was postponed a year. As a result, instead of the four rotary assembly lines expected for last year to produce 400 million syringes annually, not even one has gone on line even this year.

But even if these lines were brought up to test model level, they would still be inadequate in terms of the most important indicators for similar imported equipment by a factor of more than two. This will lead to increased prime costs for disposable syringes. Bringing Soviet-produced equipment up to the same level as similar imported equipment in terms of size and weight will require significant expansion of production areas and increase construction costs by a factor of two or three.

In general, wherever we turn things are worse than abroad. And why is it worse here? Again, right from the start the role has been one of catching up. There are still not complete and reliable figures on all the features of the equipment. This has led to failures to meet schedules for designing and developing new capacities to produce disposable syringes.

The Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building is failing to deliver automatic lines for the sterilization of polymer syringes. The Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry is not producing equipment used to manufacture needles. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry is not providing the necessary quantities of polyethylene, polypropylene and special film and glues to manufacture parts, syringes and needles. The USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry is obviously late in developing technology to make special paper for packaging syringes. It should already be dealing with clients, but no decision has yet been reached on the location of production facilities. The production of polymer-coated paper and adhesive tape used to produce packaging for needles is still in the planning stage.

True, there is the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, which alone has coped with its assignment, namely, to develop a recipe and technology for producing rubber stock for the production of seals for syringes. At the Tomsk Rubber Footwear Plant, which has temporarily suspended production of galoshes, they have even produced the first four tons of the required rubber stock. But series production has not been started up because the enterprise is not being supplied with the necessary components, imported from abroad.

In all, about a dozen all-union ministries have failed to meet the government target through their combined efforts. Responsibility for this lies primarily with the leaders of the following departments: in the USSR Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, V. Bykov; in the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, M. Shkabardnya; in the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, N. Panichev; in the Ministry of the Chemical

Industry, Yu. Bespalov; in the Ministry of the Timber Industry, M. Busygin; and in the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, O. Anfimov.

We understand that the ministers may be offended. They all have their objective reasons. There is also the risk that we could quarrel about the entire "list"—what could be simpler. But the facts, kindly made available to the editorial office by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Control Committee, speak loudly for themselves.

Moscow City Figures for AIDS Patients Noted

LD1805025689 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 17 May 89

[Text] Moscow authorities have invested 15 million rubles into building 2 big blocks of a local hospital, which received the first AIDS victim 2 years ago. The new blocks will house a maternity home and dentistry and surgery departments. So far there are no AIDS patients among the residents of Moscow. There are 32 people who carry the virus in tbe bodies. There are AIDS patients in other cities, both Soviet citizens and foreigners. By the middle of this month the hospital in Moscow had 20 AIDS patients.

USSR Death Rate Statistics Compared to West's

18001053 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 May 89 p 2

[Unattributed report]

[Text] Recently the death rate in our country has decreased somewhat but it is still higher than in developed capitalist countries. The USSR State Committee for Statistics published a curious statistic which convincingly shows that the life of the Soviet person could be much longer.

For every 100,000 men of working age there are 659 deaths. And in the United States, the FRG, France, Great Britain and Japan—363. For the same number of women "here"—254, and "there"—178. There is an especially large difference in the figures for death caused by accidents, poisoning, and injuries among men: "Here"—178, "there"—79. Women die from these causes much less frequently: "here"—38, "there"—25.

There is also a significant difference in the death rate from diseases of the circulatory system. Among men "here"—217, and "there"—109; among women "here"—82, and "there"—38....

These sad death rate figures should make doctors and all the rest of us start to think: What can all of us do to prolong life here, if it is possible over "there"?

Moscow Patriarchate Publishes New Weekly

LD1905134589 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—The MOSCOW RELIGIOUS HERALD is a new weekly newspaper published by the Moscow patriarchate. Metropolitan Pitirim of Volokolamsk and Yuryev, head of the publishing department of the Moscow patriarchate, showed the new paper to reporters today.

The first issue of the well-illustrated eight page weekly features an Easter message from patriarch Pimen of Moscow and all Russia. The portraits of Patriarch Pimen, Metropolitan Alexey of Leningrad and Novgorod and Metropolitan Pitirim who were elected Soviet People's Deputies are also included.

The weekly will be published alongside the monthly of the same name which has been published since 1986.

The more frequent MOSCOW RELIGIOUS HERALD will respond to different events connected with church problems. It will cover various topics, concerning religious, public and cultural life, church activities and priests and believers.

According to Metropolitan Pitirim, the readers will receive information about such events as the forthcoming meeting of the World Council of Churches which will take place in Moscow for the first time this summer and about the celebrations of the 400th anniversary of establishing the patriarchate in Russia.

Metropolitan Pitirim answered reporters' questions and invited them to write for the new weekly.

6th Volume of Gorbachev Speeches Published

LD1805224789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] The sixth volume of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's selected speeches and articles has been published. It comprises the documents which encompass the period from January until October 1988. Domestic policy aspects of restructuring are examined in Comrade Gorbachev's speeches and articles in close connection with the foreign policy aspects, because the changes in our country are of importance not only for the Soviet people but they also exert influence on the situation in the world.

Economic
uction of Scarce Goods

PM2205144389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with V. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Chemical and Timber Industry Complex by own correspondent R. Ignatyev under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "About Soap, Washing Powder and...Objective Causes"; first paragraph is an IZVESTIYA introduction; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Measures necessary to accelerate the solution of problems connected with the production and delivery to the trade network of soap, washing powder, and other detergents have been adopted. Large quantities of these goods have been bought abroad and are already coming onto the market. This is what V. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Minsters Bureau for the Chemical and Timber Industry Complex, has told our correspondent.

[Ignatyev] My first question to you, Vladimir Kuzmich, has to be about the causes of the current shortage of soap and detergents.... What has caused it?

[Gusev] I would like to say that of late there has been a sharp exacerbation of the problem of meeting consumer demand for various goods. This applies to many types of output. The government has drawn up measures to sharply increase the consumer goods production growth rate (by 200 to 300 percent). It has to be borne in mind, however, that specific reasons for the shortages of certain goods also exist. But the main thing is that realistic ways to resolve the problems which worry millions of people have been worked out.

Recently specialists and scientists carried out studies devoted to these matters. The situation over the past decade was analyzed. It appears that the situation concerning the shortage of detergents is not new. A similar problem occurred in 1979-1981. Then it was resolved by increased purchases of these goods abroad. The shortage was caused not so much by increased demand for detergents, as hoarding of these goods by the population. So it was no accident that a sharp drop in the demand for these goods was registered in 1983-1984. For instance, whereas in 1981 1,688,000 tonnes of soap and synthetic detergents were sold, it 1984 sales totaled only 1,482,000 tonnes. As a result imports decreased.

The drop in demand affected, up to a point, also the formulation of the plan for the production of the said goods for the 12th 5-Year Plan.

[Ignatyev] So it seems that the enterprises which produce washing powder and soap set lower targets for the production of these goods than required, as became obvious subsequently.

[Gusev] Generally speaking, this is correct. In connection with the increased surplus of washing powder in 1983-1987, the demand for soap began to decrease annually and therefore its production in 1987 was reduced by 100,000 tonnes in comparison with 1983.

Increased demand for detergents was observed only as from the end of 1987. It is then that difficulties began arising.

However, measures were immediately adopted. So, the 1988 plan already made provision for increasing the production of soap by 50,000 tonnes and of synthetic detergents by 70,000 tonnes.

[Ignatyev] Nonetheless, the situation has not improved. The ballyhoo around soap and washing power is continuing....

[Gusev] Indeed, the 1979-1981 situation has shown that any problem in trade gives rise to panic among the population. It leads to hoarding. Bearing in mind the experience of those years, which indicates that the demand for detergents will continue to rise for some time, it was decided to adopt urgent measures to normalize the situation. With a delay of 2 years, it is true, the Ministry of Construction in northern and western regions of the USSR, the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry, and Tula Oblast local authorities, have stepped up work to ensure the commissioning of the country's biggest Novomoskovskiy plant.

The 1989 plan has been adjusted in the light of the increased production requirements in 1988. Additional targets have also been set. Dozens of enterprises have joined in the production of detergents. A great deal is being done by local authorities.

[Ignatyev] Are any purchases abroad being made?

[Gusev] Yes, import deliveries have increased considerably in comparison with past years. The arrival in the Soviet Union of several shipments of goods is expected literally within days. On 18 May the ship "Vera Khorudzhaya" with 1,000 tonnes of detergent on board arrived at Mariupol from Turkey. On 19-20 May the arrival of another ship with 320 tonnes of goods on board is expected there. And on 21-23 May "Viktor Talalikhin" is due to arrive. It is carrying 1,500 tonnes of detergent. Before the end of this month ships from Turkey, Egypt, and India will arrive. At the same time around 500 trucks will deliver sythetic detergents and soap from Yugoslavia, the FRG, Austria, Italy, and other countries to the USSR.

As a result a total of 2,100,000 tonnes of detergents will be sold to the population in the course of 1989, or 24 percent more than before. Per capita consumption will total 7.6 kg which is on a par with consumption indicators in such countries as Finland, Japan, and Bulgaria.

[Ignatyev] Nonetheless, who is to blame for the fact that essential goods come under the category of goods in short supply?

[Gusev] It is, of course, possible to plead objective causes, but that would be unfair. We believe that both, ministries and the departments responsible for the production of detergents are to blame. Our USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for the Chemical and Timber Industry Complex, too, has failed to show the necessary exactingness. The hitches should have been avoided. I will not be telling you anything new when I say that shortages are more easily created than eliminated. We are taking measures to create additional reserve capacities for the production of detergents and the necessary raw materials for 1990-1991.

[Ignatyev] And last, are prices for washing powder and soap likely to go up?

[Gusev] The point is that the planned production of detergents will in time begin to exceed demand. Therefore it would be economically inexpedient to increase prices for these goods. I would like to advise the population in this context not to worry and not to hoard these goods. I believe that the existing level of washing power and soap production and the additional measures that have been taken will make it possible to balance the demand and supply. I am confident that the prevailing difficulties will be eliminated.

Foreign Tourism Deputy Chairman Interviewed

18000990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with E. Nordman, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism, by L. Ivchenko : "From Reliable Sources; The Most Profitable Export"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] **A conference of the Interparliamentary Union devoted to tourism has been held in the Hague, this matter being discussed for the first time in the 100 years of the organization's existence. Why did this subject attract the attention of the international organization? How is tourism developing in the world, and what is our country's contribution to it? Our interlocutor is E. Nordman, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism, who headed the Soviet delegation in the Hague.**

[Ivchenko] Many people think that tourism is not a serious business. But here it is of very great interest.... What is the reason for this at this particular time?

[Nordman] The mass character of the phenomenon. One and a half billion people travel in the world annually! Of these, 390 million are international tourists. And personal contact among people of various countries is the key to peace and mutual understanding, and many international documents emphasize the important role of humanitarian contacts, including tourism. In addition, the "unserious" matter has become serious business: A profit of $195 billion was received from tourism around the globe in 1988. Helping people satisfy an age-old attraction to learn about the unknown is, it seems, very profitable: Tourism accounts for 30 percent of the world's service trade. It has become the third largest item in world trade after oil and automobiles, and by the end of the century it is expected to become the first. The most profitable export: People do not take oil, gas, and wood out of the country, but mostly only an impression, and they leave money.... The great virtue of tourism is that it is one of the most reliable sources of hard currency.

[Ivchenko] The USSR is a member of the World Tourist Organization. What is our share of the total business?

[Nordman] Unfortunately, it is modest, and far less than our potential. In the area of tourism—and this is regrettable—we fall in the category of developing countries, even though we have a tremendous tourist potential—picturesque landscapes, architectural monuments of ancient Russian cities, the ancient architecture of Samarkand and Bukhara, and the inimitable beauty of the Caucasus.... And all of this accounts for only 1 percent. We get only 2 million foreign tourists a year out of the 200 million who want to come to our country! Compare this with Spain: With a population of 40 million people, last year it received 53 million tourists, and earned $17 billion as a result. And we still do not have favorable conditions.

[Ivchenko] But they have to be created....

[Nordman] Of course. And the main condition is hotels. In the years of its economic reformation, China built 116 hotels in Beijing alone, and we in the Moscow soviet barely knocked out five or six sites for their construction.... There are opportunities, and there are resources for construction. In particular, the Singapore firm "UIC" is ready to build a high class hotel for us. The Mosgorispolkom [Moscow city executive committee] promised to allocate a site, but it is now the second year without any progress. Sites are being built for other facilities, at times absolutely irrationally. As an example, nothing better was thought of than to build an ordinary dwelling unit at the corner of Kalyayevskaya Street and Sadovoye Ring. There is no argument that dwellings are absolutely necessary, but is this noisy, gaseous main highway suitable for a dwelling? But it does not matter to tourists who occupy a room for 2 or 3 nights, as long as they are closer to the center of the city.

We ask that even old buildings in the center of the city that are in need of renovation be remodeled as hotels. This is done throughout the world. They will beautify the capital and will be preserved as architectural monuments. But here we also are not heeded. As far back as 1983, we asked that the Balchug Hotel, which was closed for major repairs, be given to us for reconstruction. It would now bring a profit of no less than R20-30 million. They did not give it to us. The Balchug remained boarded up for several years, and its repair has just now started. This is an example of missed opportunities. After all tourism earns money for the social needs of the public, the city, and for dwelling construction, for which there are not enough resources! These hotels would have created conditions for Soviet tourists as well, and we have about 60 million of them.

[Ivchenko] And how is the income from tourism distributed? What part of the profits remains with Intourist?

[Nordman] A small part. We return half to the state budget, and 10 percent to the union republics. But it would be more just and correct not to return any money to the budget at all, but to give it to the budget of the specific city and a specific tourist center; that is, to the one that earns this money with its own labor. A city that is interested in tourists will receive them better and will aggressively develop its own infrastructure, having better means for this.

[Ivchenko] Intourist is frequently criticized in the press for serious deficiencies in work. In what way can it be improved?

[Nordman] In particular, in what has been said: The economic interrelations with local soviets have to be set up in a different way, and they should receive their share of the profit. Then there will be an interest in tourist centers. Investments in the industry are also needed. Tourism is a service industry, and the attitude toward it must be the same as it is toward an industry. If we received at least 10 percent of the R130 billion allocated to the Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources], we would put the business on the same level as it is throughout the whole world.

[Ivchenko] There is a lot of unfavorable criticism of the services....

[Nordman] Intourist does not live in isolation—all of society's troubles are our troubles as well. We also get people who are unconscientious and dishonest. We are now actively working on the training of cadres, and new faculties have appeared in some higher educational institutions that are training specialists for our industry. You see, up until now no one engaged in this seriously. We are organizing hotel director probationary work abroad....

[Ivchenko] Why do Soviet tourists who go abroad have such meager sums of money in their pockets?

[Nordman] To give currency, it is necessary to have it. And to have it, it has to be earned. We earn it poorly—there are no hotels. In addition, we receive a small part of the earned currency, just a little more than a third. It goes for the furnishing, repair, and construction of hotels, the purchase of certain commodities, the support of trips for Soviet citizens abroad, etc. Very little is left for pocket expenses. But, I repeat, if we earn more, there will also be a greater exchange. With the shift of Intourist to economic accountability, we increased our profit by 30 percent in just 1 year. We are creating our own hard currency base which will help resolve all of these problems.

[Ivchenko] Incidentally, why shouldn't the Ministry of Finance exchange the rubles of Soviet tourists for hard currency not at the official rate of exchange, but at a price that is close to the market rate? After all it is no secret that the black market exists and dictates its own policy.... Here the advantage would be mutual—the tourist would have the desired amount of hard currency, and the state would not be worse off....

[Nordman] In my opinion, this matter should be examined by the financial organs. On the whole, tourism has a lot of problems, and it would not be a bad idea for our higher organ of authority to have a deputy group or commission that involves itself with issues of tourism as is done in 70 parliaments of the world. There parliamentarians determine the policy of the industry, control tourist firms, etc. If such an organ appears on the staff of the new Supreme Soviet, and also in the republics, it will be of great use to the state and to the business.

[Ivchenko] I return to the conference in the Hague. What are the trends in the development of tourism for the near future?

[Nordman] It is expected that the rates of growth of international tourism will be four percent a year on the average, and that by the year 2000, it will hold first place in exports. Profound improvements in integrated communications, which are expected in the near term, will have an effect on all parameters of the international tourist exchange. Thus, in 1992, which is to be called the year of tourism, 320 million persons in Europe will be involved in a free tourist exchange—without unnecessary formalities. We are also being invited to take part in this.

Estonian Cooperative Union Established

LD2005210989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Tallinn, 20 May (TASS)—The Estonian Union of Cooperatives was set up at a founding conference here today.

K. Karistu, one of the members of the founding group and chairman of the "Iris" cooperative, told a TASS correspondent about the basic goals and tasks of the

union: Once we have set up the union, it will be easier for us to ensure judicial and legal protection for the movement's members. Indeed, the MVD [Interior Ministry] workers will take a different attitude toward us. With their assistance, we will ensure the protection of our rights and property.

You cannot forget about consumer rights either, because the cooperatives' activity is aimed at satisfying their needs. The union will regulate the prices of cooperative products and services, make cooperative members who overstep the mark see reason, and strive to create an atmosphere of trust and honesty between cooperatives and the population.

Agricultural

Central Committee Views Rural Amenities

PM1905133189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Joint Efforts To Solve the Food Supplies Problem"]

[Text] Progress in the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum directives on the fuller involvement of cities' industrial and intellectual potential in the retooling of the agro-industrial complex and the provision of social amenities in the countryside has been examined at the CPSU Central Committee.

Reports were delivered by V.G. Yatsuba, first secretary of Dnepropetrovsk City Ukrainian Communist Party Committee [gorkom]; V.I. Zolotarev, first secretary of Kuybyshev CPSU Gorkom; V.G. Atlasov, chairman of Voronezh City Soviet Executive Committee; G.I. Churkin, general director of Vladimir Oblast's "Vladimir-Suzdalskoye" agro-industrial association; A.V. Maslov, first secretary of Novosibirsk Party Gorkom; V.A. Maltsev, first secretary of Ryazan Party Gorkom; V.D. Kadochnikov, first secretary of Sverdlovsk Party Gorkom; I.F. Bova, general director of Rostov Oblast's "Aksay" agricultural combine; and others.

I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agrarian Department, and I.K. Kapustyan, deputy chief of the same department, provided a critical analysis of the organizational and political work done by city party organizations on the practical implementation of the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum decisions. It was noted that the work done by party and soviet organs and economic managers in Belgorod, Dnepropetrovsk, Voronezh, Rostov, Ryazan, Magnitogorsk, and many other cities is becoming increasingly persistent and specific. The city's traditional sponsorship of the countryside is switching to the tracks of mutually advantageous economic relations between labor collectives from industrial centers, collective farms [kolkhozes], and state farms [sovkhozes]. Integration and direct contractual ties on a voluntary basis are being developed. Consumer cooperatives are playing a greater role in satisfying the urban market's needs for the relevant foodstuffs.

At the same time, the involvement of industrial enterprises and city organizations in Zaporozhye, Chelyabinsk, Groznyy, Karaganda, Ufa, Kursk, and Yaroslavl in building up food resources and supplying the urban population with foodstuffs still remains insignificant. And yet these cities and other industrial centers still experience acute problems in food supplies.

The population's incomes rose at unprecedentedly fast pace in 1988-1989, but the growth of agricultural output achieved during the current 5-Year Plan was unable to keep up with the accumulation of money in people's hands. Furthermore, the output of stockraising produce declined in a number of the country's regions this year.

Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, drew the attention of participants in the conference to the need for daily progress in solving the problem of supplying the foodstuffs necessary for the inhabitants of cities and industrial centers. This is a task of exceptional political importance for urban and rural Communists, the soviet and economic aktiv, and the working people.

It is necessary to be firm in getting rid of dependence and to embark everywhere on economic integration between industrial enterprises and kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is important to accelerate the formation of specialized zones for the commodity production of vegetables, milk, and other agricultural produce around industrial centers. At the same time, to promote the development of efficient farms under industrial enterprises and to make labor collectives interested in investing more money and material resources in the retooling of the food industry and the construction of refrigerated storage facilities. He noted in particular that this work must be done on a voluntary, economically accountable, and mutually advantageous basis, taking into account the labor collectives' opinion and interests.

The retooling of the material base for the production, storage, and processing of agricultural produce must be up to contemporary technical standards. In this context, party gorkoms were instructed to carefully examine the fulfillment of set tasks for the manufacture of machinery and equipment for the agro-industrial complex by machine building enterprises located on their cities' territory, including defense industry enterprises. Urgent attention must be given to the quality and reliability of equipment for the countryside and the food industry.

It is important to develop hothouse cultivation and fish production shops. The solution of these matters must be tackled objectively by local soviet and economic organs everywhere.

Local soviets, Ye.K. Ligachev emphasized, are expected to work actively on satisfying city dwellers' needs for orchard and truck garden plots and to give them the necessary help in setting them up.

V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the conference's work.

Scientific

Utilization of Space Technologies Discussed

LD1805134589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] There is a particularly great amount of talk in our country today about the reduction of allocations for space research. Many candidates for people's deputy of the USSR also spoke about this, but there is another point of view. Many specialists in space science believe that the utilization of technologies developed for space equipment open new horizons for various branches of our national economy. Our correspondent Leonid Lazarevich visited the "Kompozit" scientific and production association, an association which, in cooperation with other centers, is fulfilling orders for the development of materials so essential for the production of rocket and space equipment.

[Lazarevich] Only a year ago, I could not even dream of visiting this enterprise; it was so secret. Now it is visited by representatives of many branches and an exhibition has been developed to acquaint them with new materials and their possible uses. Over 10 special programs are being implemented at the "Kompozit" association. Much has been created within their framework; for example, medical apparatuses and instruments which have no analogue any where in the world. Or, plastic pumps for dairy works which are hundreds of times cheaper than metal ones and which make possible an annual savings of R40 million. Stanislav Petrovich Polovnikov, director of the association, and I stopped in front of a model of the association's new enterprise and this is the recording I made.

[Begin recording] [Polovnikov] The works were to have produced 85 percent of the volume of total output for the needs of our ministry, and were to have produced 15 percent in consumer goods.

[Lazarevich] Some time has passed since the start of construction.

[Polovnikov] These works are in the 3d year of construction, but we have changed the project and the works will produce no more than 20 percent of output for the needs of our ministry. The works will produce 80 percent of output in the form of consumer goods and in the form of technological equipment for the production of consumer goods. These works will produce modern plumbing equipment, vacuum cleaners, computer games, and a number of other goods.

[Lazarevich] One other question. Eighty percent of the materials which were used in "Buran" are absolutely new and were developed by you, together with the participation of a very large number of institutes. When the Americans set up their program to land on the moon they spend a vast amount of money, but they subsequently managed to recoup that money by selling patents. Could there, perhaps, come a time when your powerful scientific and production association might also be able to compensate for expenditure through patents?

[Polovnikov] Well, as you know, we have a different system in this country. We do not recover money from the sale of patents, instead we engage in the introduction of our developments in various branches of the national economy. I believe that the time when we recover the money spent by the country on "Buran" through saving in the economy has already arrived. Time is moving rapidly and we are at present offering a great many of the developments made specially for "Buran" to various branches of the national economy. We began this with products which our ministry began producing in connection with the formation of Minlegpishchemash [Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances]. We have begun to introduce these achievements at works transferred to our ministry. But today, this process is accelerating and expanding and I believe that the time is not far off when we will fully recoup the country's expenditure on "Buran."

[Lazarevich] Each time, this process of introduction proceeds very painfully and with great difficulty in our country. After all, this depends not only on you, but also on other branches of the national economy, who almost always, it must be said, fail to show any serious interest in new materials and in more progressive technology.

[Polovnikov] When top managers see our achievements, their eyes immediately light up and they say; this should be introduced there, here, let us take measures. But the lower we go at the factory, the smaller the interest shown by middle management and executives in the introduction of these achievements. The old economic mechanism still functions and people have no interest in this work. I believe that the situation is getting better. At the moment, we are simply increasing the activeness of our employees so that they propagandize these achievements more widely. We are even going so far as to introduce things for almost no payment to encourage our partners' interest; this is having its results. I think we will continue this aggressive stand until the economic mechanism begins functioning. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] This is also a sign of the times. There are highly interesting materials and technologies on offer, free. They are almost being forced on people, and yet there is no real interest in them. This is the finest proof of how necessary, how essential is a new economic mechanism, which would put things in their place.

Economic Benefits of Space Research Highlighted

LD2205014589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Here is what we can get from conversion in the field of space research. For the first time, we have on our program a report from the main enterprise for the development of construction materials.

[Correspondent P. Orlov—identified by screen caption] This was the first time that we were able to see for ourselves, and now we can show you, how and from what materials our satellites, spacecraft, space stations, and launch vehicles—which have been flying in space and returning to earth for 30 years now—are made. Our space program was created by hitherto unknown experimental design offices, scientific production associations and scientific research institutes, all the way from ideas to the complete—I emphasize complete—fitting out of industrial production facilities.

Composites that are light, strong, and practically everlasting; bearings that can withstand any temperature; materials that do not fear corrosion and are biologically inert; foam seals that will not let even a molecule through; the "Energiya" and the "Buran" are 80-percent made from such materials. [video shows drawings and photos of spacecraft; a welding or cutting operation; footage of a "Soyuz" launch vehicle take-off; various pipes under a board saying "carbon-carbon composites," "metallic composites," "high-strength steels," "superlight aluminium alloys"; cross-sectioned bearings; man holding up a concoction of metallic brackets; samples of materials on display; footage of "Energiya-Buran" on the launch pad]

So from whom was all this being concealed? From foreign competitors? But they have either already arrived at this or are now ready to buy it from us for any amount of money. So was it from our own people? Were these needleless vaccine injectors concealed from parents, for example? Were these pipes that need no repairs concealed from builders? Or, for example, was this sewing machine, which stitches the interior lining of the "Soyuz" spacecraft, concealed from housewives? [video shows equipment in open cases; pipes; hand- held miniature sewing machine stitching cloth]

[S.P. Polovnikov, director general of the Komposite scientific production association—identified by screen caption] Even experienced specialists in various fields are astonished when they come to our enterprise, they say: Have we really got this in our country? And we really do have it in our country. Today restructuring has made it possible to sell these achievements to the country's national economy. We must not miss this opportunity.

[Orlov] What do we need for this?

[Polovnikov] I think we will begin, or rather have already begun, by converting one of our works, which will be able to produce tens of thousands of tonnes of goods from such materials. Today we need customers to respond as quickly as possible. Then the country's national economy, the agro-industrial complex, the chemists, the engineers, the power engineers will get everything shown here. We have assembled all this and realized it. That is why we are not lagging behind the Americans, and even more so other countries, in space. Well, this is our national wealth, which should be made to benefit our people as quickly as possible.

[Orlov] Now the Komposit scientific production association is open, not only to journalists, but also to representatives of every other sector of the national economy. Here they are already to transfer technology and train specialists, and the most important thing is that they have already started this work.

Well, if it were up to me, I would invite here, first of all, those people's deputies who are proposing to cut back the appropriations for space programs. Let them look and work it out for themselves. Believe me, there is enough materials here to give new life to many fields of our economy and to restore a sense of national pride. [video shows various exhibits, containers, sailboat; rolling caption: "The economic effect from the application of composites in the national economy could amount to R41.6 billion"]

Astronomical Council Honors Soviet Scientist

LD1905133189 Moscow TASS in English 1020 GMT 19 May 89

[Excerpts] Moscow May 19 TASS—By TASS science writer Nikolay Zheleznov: A large crater on the moon's surface will be given the name of Soviet scientist Ari Shternfeld who died in Moscow several years ago. The Astronomical Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences received this news from the Toponymy Commission of the International Astronomical Council which by this act marked the scientists's outstanding contribution to space flight mechanics.

The new name finallly gives Shternfeld his rightful place in the official history of Soviet cosmonautics where until now Shternfeld was alloted a very modest place. His merits were covered up during the personality cult and in subsequent years. Meanwhile, he is the author of the basic work, the first in the world, on the theory and practice of cosmonautics. [passage omitted]

There is still a long way to go before the full rehabilitation of Shternfeld's name in Soviet cosmonautics. All the USSR Academy of Sciences did last year was to publish a modest book about the scientist in the scientists' biographies series.

However, people who gathered for a social function to commemorate Shternfeld in a Moscow house of culture on May 17 spoke of growing interest in the blank spaces in the history of Soviet cosmonautics. This function was organised by the Polish Information and Culture Centre in the USSR and involved Soviet and Polish scientists, journalists and students.

IZVESTIYA Reports on Planes To Be Shown in Paris

PM1805104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[V. Belikov report under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "Soviet Display at Le Bourget Air Show"]

[Text] The display for the Soviet section at the 38th International Aerospace Salon at Le Bourget near Paris is now ready. A representative delegation of specialists headed by A. Systsov, minister of the aviation industry, will accompany it.

This year's show at Le Bourget which opens 8 June is being held shortly before the 200th anniversary of the great French bourgeois revolution—which will undoubtedly add special significance and scope to the traditional review of all types of aircraft, including civil, military, sports, and spacecraft and totaling more than 200 models in all. It is expected that all major aircraft-building states and most international associations and companies will take part.

Apart from stands on the airfield, spacious hangar-pavilions will be used to display the equipment for inspection by large numbers of visitors and salon participants. Demonstration flights will take place throughout the duration of the show.

The Soviet display promises to be one of the most representative at Le Bourget. In the catalog prepared by the organizing committee, which features the models of equipment put on show by various countries, most Soviet exhibits are followed by an "N", indicating innovation. This is how aircraft and helicopters shown for the first time at this, the world's most prestigious air show, are designated. What craft does this apply to?

We are showing our modern combat equipment at the Paris show for the first time. This means, specifically, the MiG-29 frontline fighter, which caused a sensation last fall at Britain's Farnborough air show (IZVESTIYA No 199, 1988), and the Su-27 air defense interceptor, which belongs to the so-called fourth generation of supersonic military aircraft (IZVESTIYA No 85, 1989). Both aircraft are being shown in single-seat and two-seat versions.

The P. Sukhoy design bureau is also presenting the Su-25 attack aircraft, which has passed a severe test in the Afghan skies. One combat incident that took place there was described as follows: "A Stinger missile knocked out the aircraft's port engine, shrapnel pierced the cockpit canopy and damaged part of the skin. Naturally, the plane was further damaged when it had to land on its 'belly.' However, as a whole it remained intact and will reenter normal service after repairs." The same aviation firm is also sending an Su-26M to Le Bourget, which is an improved version of our sports and aerobatic monoplane.

In our civil aviation the renewal of the passenger liner stock is getting under way. IZVESTIYA readers (No 273 and 359, 1988) know about the beginning of flight tests of the 300-seater Il-96 long-haul airbus and the 214-seater, medium-haul Tu-204. Incidentally, both these aircraft are fitted with the same super-efficient, low-noise, turbofan engines designed by P. Solovyev.

Final factory tests are under way on the Il-96, which has already made around 100 flights, sometimes several flights a day. The Tu-204, which took to the air later, has so far made around 30 flights. Both airliners will fly in to the international air show, where specialists from all over the world will be able to compare them with "models" from the well-known U.S. and West European aircraft building companies. After their return from France, the intensive test program will resume with the involvement of Aeroflot crews.

"Mi-17 Helicopter: The Flying Hospital"—this is the way this rotary-wing machine is described in the salon's official catalog. It is intended for search and rescue operations and the provision of highly skilled emergency medical assistance during accidents, catastrophes, and natural disasters. Its spacious cabin is fitted with an operating table, efficient lighting, diagnostic equipment, and apparatus for the active resuscitation of casualties. Its range is up to 950 km, its speed—240 km per hour. It is a pity, of course, that this miracle helicopter was not yet ready at the time of the tragic events in Chernobyl or in Armenia; however, much work lies ahead for it as the flying ambulance of the future. The same team of designers will be displaying the new Mi-28 military helicopter for the first time in our combat equipment section.

At the Le Bourget air show participants and tens of thousands of spectators will be able to acquaint themselves with the record-holding modern giant An-225 "Mriya" aircraft (IZVESTIYA No 356 1988), which will carry the "Buran" reusable orbital craft attached to its fuselage. The weight of this transport system totals 600 tonnes.

Transcontinental Fiber-Optic Link Under Study

PM1805083989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS correspondent S. Turanov report for IZVESTIYA: "Round-The-World Cable Planned"]

[Text] Moscow—The USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry along with international

communications companies from the United States, Japan, and Denmark has embarked on studying the options for creating the first transcontinental fiber-optic communications line, to run across USSR territory from the western to the eastern border emerging into Europe and Japan. The fiber-optic cable will cross several European countries as well as the Soviet Union and will be linked to Japan via an underwater cable and then extended to the countries of Southeast Asia and Australia.

The transsoviet line, along with transatlantic and transpacific fiber-optic lines, will make it possible to organize an around-the-world digital communications network. It will cross three continents—Europe, Asia, and America—and three oceans—the Pacific, Atlantic, and Indian. At present the possibilitiy of communications organizations from Britain, Italy, Australia, and other countries taking part in the project is being studied.

The creation of the transsoviet line will be of great political and socioeconomic significance for the world community and will help strengthen peace and trust between peoples. It will also enable a communications system operating at a speed of information transfer of 565 megabytes per second—corresponding to 8,000 standard digital channels—to be organized on the USSR's territory. The project will serve the interests of automating society.

Military

Armed Forces Political Chief Gives Speech

PM1905150989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 89 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report on speech by Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, at 70th anniversary celebration: "The Party's Combat Organs"; date and place of speech not given]

[Text] Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, has delivered a report at a ceremony celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The Communist Party's leadership of military development and of the Armed Forces is the foundation of the strengthening of the socialist homeland's defense. For 7 decades Soviet Army and Navy political organs have faithfully served this cause under the Central Committee's leadership, uniting personnel around the CPSU; increasing the combat readiness of troops and naval forces in conjunction with military councils, commanders, and party organizations; strengthening the Army's intimate link with the people and organization and discipline; and instilling in troops the spirit of Soviet patriotism, the friendship of the USSR peoples, and socialist internationalism. This is their historic destiny and this is their creative vocation.

This is how the matter stands today, in our era of revolutionary restructuring and socialist renewal.

In reorganizing the Army and Navy on the basis of the decisions of the 27th congress and 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and demands of the new Soviet military doctrine, military councils and political organs, commanders and staffs, and Army and Navy party and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union [Komsomol] organizations are directing all the efforts, energy, and intellectual and spiritual potential of personnel toward achieving qualitative parameters as quickly as possible in terms of equipment and military science and the composition of the Armed Forces, improving their combat readiness, and ensuring reliable security for socialist building.

In this exceedingly important and crucial matter an enormous role belongs to party-political work, which back in the civil war years the party regarded as an extra, new kind of weapon to frighten all our enemies.

And that is so. Because the human factor, people in uniforms, the "man with a gun," as V.I. Lenin put it, his moral and political makeup, his combat expertise, his patriotism and internationalism, his class awareness and loyalty to his constitutional military duty are the constant and chief conditions of the improvement of the Armed Forces. "Keep an eye on political work...," "Keep up the political work...," V.I. Lenin would demand, insist, warn.

Having noted the stages of the formation of political organs in the Armed Forces, Army General A. Lizichev stressed that back in the thirties our country began to experience the mounting threat of a military invasion by the strike forces of imperialism—fascist Germany and militarist Japan. There is much debate at the moment about those times. It was a difficult time. But the USSR grew strong and tough. The world's first socialist society was built. It was a feat of historic dimensions and historic significance.

At the same time, the period we are talking about also brought losses. There was serious damage to the cause of socialism, to defense building in the USSR, to the Red Army and the Navy, and to their political organs.

In those years around 40,000 commanders and political workers were repressed in the Army and the Navy. Among leading political personnel alone, 20 members of military councils, 20 chiefs of district and fleet political directorates, 14 corps commissars, 65 division commissars, 102 formation political department chiefs, 92 regimental commissars, and 7 military academy commissars were victims of repressions as a result of false charges. The Main Political Directorate suffered grievous losses as a result of the repressions. A tragic fate befell the majority of the prominent party workers who headed the Worker-Peasant Red Army Political Diretorate at one

time or another. They were I.T. Smilga, L.P. Serebryakov, V.A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, A.S. Bubnov, Ya.B. Gamarnik, and P.A. Smirnov.

But neither the gross errors, nor the tyranny and deviations from the principles of socialism could dislodge our people and our country from the path it had taken when making its choice in 1917. Lenin's ideas of socialism were too strong, and they gripped the masses.

Too strong also were Lenin's ideas of the defense of the socialist fatherland, which found a place deep in the hearts of soldiers, commanders, and political personnel in the Red Army. And when the country was attacked by fascist Germany the Army and Navy political organs managed to promptly restructure their organizational and educational work. From the very first the war revealed the powerful morale generated by the entire way of life in socialist society and by the ideological education work that had been done.

At that time a considerable number of experienced party workers was sent into the Army and Navy political organs. They included 500 secretaries of union republic communist party central committees, kray, oblast, city, and rayon committees, and 1,265 oblast- and rayon-level workers. The Main Political Directorate was completely replenished with senior officials from the all-union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee apparatus. In 1942 Comrade A.S. Shcherbakov, secretary of the Central Committee and also of the Moscow City and Moscow Oblast Party Committees, was appointed Main Political Directorate chief.

As you all know, we had critical situations during the war. But the country and the Army stood their ground and changed the course of events.

Our Leninist party, our fighting party was at the heart of all military activity. Its line is firmly and unswervingly implemented by the political organs and party and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Leaque [Komsomol] organizations of the Army and Navy. The memory of the immortal exploits of the commissars and political workers, who were the commanders' mainstays, who by their party exhortations and personal example urged people to attack and to display courage and were heroes themselves, who fought to the death, and who were the most patient in defense and the swiftest in attack, will live forever in the hearts of contemporaries and descendants.

And whenever a commander fell, hit by a bullet, a political worker would, as a rule, take his place.

When we look at the experience of party-political work during the Great Patriotic War we always find in it those elements of permanent value which help us tackle the tasks of improving the morale and political spirit of the troops and combat readiness of units and formations in modern conditions.

The thousands of party political fighters who went through that hard school were for a long time a political cadre goldmine for the Soviet Armed Forces. Many of them were leaders of our major political organs. For example, eminent Great Patriotic War participants and Army political workers Comrades I.V. Shikin, A.S. Zheltov, F.F. Kuznetsov, K.V. Kraynyukov, and A.A. Yepishev were Main Political Directorate chiefs. It is with deep respect that we name the frontline fighters Comrades S.P. Vasyagin, P.I. Yefimov, G.V. Sredin, S.A. Bobylev, V.A. Grekov, P.A. Gorchakov, A.V. Debalyuk, I.S. Mednikov, N.A. Torik, A.G. Rytov, V.M. Grishanov, I.F. Khalipov, A.I. Sorokin, V.S. Nechayev, M.D. Popkov, A.I. Shirinkin, and many other comrades who made a significant contribution to Army and Navy party-political work.

Army and Navy political organs, including the Main Political Directorate, have tackled major, crucial tasks in the postwar period.

To put it succinctly, there have been major gains on this path and there have been omissions, too.

The radical change in the activity of political organs and of the party as a whole, the speaker noted, took place after the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum. A renewal of views and notions of party-political work and their embodiment in the actual practice of military councils, political organs, and party organizations in the Army and Navy have occurred in the course of the implementation of the plenum's ideas, which were further developed in the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th all-union party conference. As in the country as a whole, restructuring has created a fundamentally new ideological and political atmosphere in the Soviet Armed Forces: The social consciousness of personnel is awakening, democracy is strengthening, glasnost is expanding, and assessments of the state of affairs are becoming bolder, more principled, and more objective.

Political organs, party organizations, and all Army and Navy Communists today have to be able to extend the policy of restructuring to all spheres of Army and Navy life and take charge of the process of forming and consolidating socialist consciousness in personnel. This is particularly vital now that it is so important to determine which values and innovations in our life should be regarded as truly socialist and which should be seen as unacceptable to socialism, now that it is important to select and supply the Army with what it needs to serve restructuring and the homeland's security and advance us along the path of socialism, not to alien, "borrowed," as M.S. Gorbachev put it, goals, which various extremist elements would have us pursue.

To this end we must fully realize in our practical activity the fundamental thesis that party leadership is political leadership. And the things that are incompatible with political leadership are: diktat, hectoring, the bureaucratic style, and the practice of duplicating or usurping

the duties of commanders and chiefs. That is why we are confronted fairly and squarely with the issue of distinguishing more clearly between the functions of commanders and political officers. There have been many mistakes in this area. They exist to this day.

Political organs will continue to stick to the line of strengthening one-man command—the fundamental principle of the building and leadership of the new type of Army. At the same time it is necessary to resolutely restructure party-political work, strengthen political organs, and eliminate the tendency on the part of some of them to resort to command-and-administer methods.

Our task is to ensure that the political organs themselves live by the laws on which restructuring is based to set an example of the democratic organization of their internal life and activity, to ensure that they are, if you like, a model of political organization. To constantly ensure that their work style and methods and forms of organization meet the demands of the times and that not a single component lags behind the restructuring processes. That they resolutely oppose conservatism, inertia, demagoguery, and bureaucracy. And that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's words at the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum to the effect that in today's situation "It is necessary to resolutely change the style of work, go to people, and be alive to their problems, interests, and concerns" are profoundly consonant with our thoughts.

That is why we are restating the matter of the individual political worker as a human being and a Communist, who must have the closest possible links with officers, soldiers, and seamen. Army and Navy political personnel today are a highly educated cadre stratum of our Armed Forces, one that is dedicated to party ideals. Our young Army and Navy people are following the example of many of them in building their own lives. They are proud of the courage and heroism of political workers Lieutenant A. Demakov, Senior Lieutenant N. Shornikov, Major A. Oparin, and Lieutenant Colonels G. Kuchkin and N. Malyushev, who were awarded the lofty title of Hero of the Soviet Union for their immortal exploits in the friendly land of Afghanistan, which has suffered so much.

We were all recently stunned by the selflessness of the Northern Fleet seamen from the nuclear submarine "Komsomolets." Together with the commander, Captain 1st Rank Ye. Vanin, political workers Captain 1st Rank T. Burkulakov and Captain 3d Rank Yu. Maksimchuk displayed immense courage in the struggle to save the people and the vessel. They perished, performing their military duty to the last.

Restructuring in the Army and the Navy has today entered the phase of practical deeds and results. Last year we arranged for political organs not only to report on their work, but to receive an assessment of it, as is done at local party organs' party conferences.

Many political organs emerged from the last report and election campaign cleansed, as it were, and stronger and more efficient.

Theory and policy have been elaborated, the aims and main directions of restructuring have been defined, and its mechanisms have been or are being established. The constant concern and attention on the part of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo and the USSR Defense Council for military building are making this process more dynamic and more profound.

All restructuring work is being provided with a solid legislative foundation in the form of new field manuals and general military regulations, the Provisions on Military Councils and Political Organs, Instructions to Party and Komsomol Organizations, and other documents. A USSR Law on Defense is being elaborated.

The party principles of the work style and methods of leading cadres and their selection and placement have been determined and are being actively established. The cadre composition of the Defense Ministry central apparatus is nearly 50 percent new. These processes are continuing. They were never painless or easy. But we went through with them. And now we can see that we made the right choice. The moral atmosphere is becoming cleaner in the Army and Navy. Party-political work is increasingly addressing the men involved, while military councils, commanders, and political officers are establishing new forms of work with military cadres, helping the growing people who are being brought forth by restructuring, and making their experience common property.

Much work has been done in the Army and Navy to improve the reliability and quality of performance of combat duty and combat service. Officers authorized to perform combat duty have been reappraised. Forces in constant combat readiness have been reinforced with Communists, and now 25-35 percent of them are party members. Although there are still many worries here, too.

There is an obvious trend toward strengthening military discipline. Crime has been falling since 1986. In that time the number of servicemen convicted by military tribunals has fallen by 50 percent. Bullying is being firmly combated. But we have not yet managed to achieve a radical improvement in military discipline.

Today the Army is also actively involved in the country's economic life: harvesting, carrying out major capital, housing, and highway construction, and contributing to efforts to eliminate the aftermath of the Chernobyl nuclear power station accident, the earthquakes in Armenia and Tajikistan, and major railroad accidents.

Unfortunately, restructuring is proceeding more slowly than one would like in the Army and Navy. The desire to tackle new tasks using the old methods and approaches is

still alive and well. Some military councils, political organs, and indeed party committees have not yet acquired the requisite fighting qualities, often tolerate major shortcomings in the military sphere, and wait for instructions from on high instead of taking resolute action. In many units and on ships the activity of primary party organizations does not match the period we are in.

The main thing now is practical activity—persistent, selfless, enterprising work by every party member in his job. The aim must be to have real contacts with people, to be able to get through to everyone, and to convince them by force of argument, on the basis of facts, logic, party commitment, and personal example.

In restructuring party-political work, Army General A. Lizichev noted, we are obliged to create and we will create reliable and flexible mechanisms for the real involvement of personnel and Army and Navy Communists and Komsomol members in implementing the provisions of the new military doctrine, in establishing the primacy of qualitative parameters in the training of forces, in the development of military science and military art, and in the mastery and operation of combat equipment and armaments.

Resolute new steps must be taken in the sphere of combat training and the fundamental reinforcement of military discipline.

One special task is that of cogently explaining and advocating Lenin's principles of internationalism. Military councils, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations are urged to be more concrete in handling and managing interethnic relations in military collectives both in the theoretical and in the practical plane. They are to take into account ethnic factors in their work, develop civilized interethnic relations, and eliminate the ill-preparedness of a whole clutch of commanders, political workers, and Communists for this work.

The Army and Navy Kosmomol is a very important concern of ours. It is our future, our replacement. So we say to ourselves: No petty tutelage, no usurping of functions, but trust and the creation of conditions for lively, substantial, and democratic work by Komsomol organizations, work which really interests and fascinates young people. Let us be blunt: A political organ will not get a positive rating if stagnation and formalism prevail in the Komsomol organizations.

The Army today has ceased to be a "no-go area." And we wholly support the idea that the people should have a comprehensive knowledge of our Army life. But there are all kinds of people and all kinds of passions. There is apparently a large number of advocates of a "hired" professional Army, national military formations, and a territorial militia system of recruitment and training.

In this connection I will give the opinion of the vast majority of Communist servicemen: Our Army must be a regular army, educated in the spirit of patriotism, the friendship of the USSR peoples, and proletarian internationalism, recruited on the basis of general liability for military service and service outside home territory, closely bound to the people and devoted to their interests, and closely united around the CPSU, the Central Committee, and the Soviet Government.

And we must all work hard to strengthen our peoples' traditional feeling of love for the Army and establish respect for officers and men as individuals.

The leading and directing activity of the party Central Committee, Army General A. Lizichev said in conclusion, gives us a clear direction, gives purpose to political work in the Army and Navy, and makes it more effective. Commanders, political organs, and party organizations in the Army and Navy will carry out all the tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Government and the Armed Forces' Communists will do all they can to ensure that the Army is always modern, reliable, and strong, as the party demands.

Secrecy Surrounding Defense Plants Eased

PM2205123989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with N. Glazatov, deputy chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press, by F. Ivanov: "Defense Industry Without 'Mailboxes'"; date and place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] It has been decided to abolish the code names of a number of closed enterprises and organizations—the so-called "mailboxes."

An IZVESTIYA correspondent asked N. Glazatov, deputy chief of the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press, to comment on this event.

[Glazatov] The abolition of "mailboxes" is linked with the processes of expanding glasnost taking place in our country. In present conditions this method of protecting military secrets is no longer useful. Now such enterprises will use open names instead of numbers.

[Ivanov] What should be the result of this measure?

[Glazatov] First of all new opportunities are opening up for representatives of the mass news media to cover the activity of the former "mailboxes." Previously these enterprises and organizations, which are mostly in defense sectors of industry, were not mentioned in the press at all. Now correspondents will be able to boldly use the open names of such enterprises and to describe the situation at them, though without revealing the nature of closed production facilities, of course.

The matter of the possibility of giving their departmental affiliation is also being raised. The ministries of the defense sectors of industry must adopt decisions on this. I can say that a positive decision has already been reached on this issue for a considerable number of enterprises.

[Ivanov] Won't the abolition of the code names cause confusion in economic documents and correspondence between different enterprises?

[Glazatov] In order to prevent this from happening, provision is made for the possibility of using the old names until 1 January 1991, but only in order to resolve material and technical supply matters. In specialists' opinion, this is quite long enough to prevent any kind of misunderstandings.

I want to add that the abolition of "mailboxes" is an important part of the work being carried out to eliminate outmoded elements of secrecy in the activity of the defense sectors of industry. I think this process will progress more intensively in view of the need for extensive coverage of issues connected with the conversion of the defense industry and the expansion of the foreign economic ties of Soviet enterprises and organizations.

Navy Chief Presents Submariners' Valor Awards

PM2205113789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 89 First Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Captain 3d Rank V. Yermolin and Captain 2d Rank V. Pasyakin: "For Courage and Selflessness"]

[Text] As has already been reported, members of the crew of the nuclear submarine "Komsomolets," which sank in April in the Norwegian Sea, have been awarded Orders of the Red Banner by USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree.

On 16 May Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy, presented the state awards to the valiant submariners who are undergoing treatment and rehabilitation in a military sanatorium in the Crimea.

On 17 May Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin arrived at the Northern Fleet. At the submariners' garrison he presented Orders of the Red Banner to the families of the naval seamen in the crew of the nuclear submarine "Komsomolets" who perished. The families of the dead will keep the state awards as a memento of the valor and courage of their nearest and dearest—those who carried out their military duty to the last in extreme conditions.

Design, Performance of Su-25 Described

PM2205100189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by own correspondent Colonel V. Moroz under the rubric "Our Defense Arsenal": "Su-25: 'Flying Tank'"; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] The Soviet display at the 38th International Air Show at Le Bourget near Paris will be highly representative. For the first time we will be featuring our combat hardware at the show.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already introduced to its readers the MiG-29 front-line fighter and the Su-27 fighter-interceptor, which will be demonstrated to the show participants and visitors. Today we familiarize readers with the Su-25 ground-attack aircraft.

The Su-25 has had a difficult life. The aircraft, intended for ground force close support and able to resolve tasks both over the battlefield and in areas of strong air defense—in other words, a ground-attack aircraft—was conceived by Pavel Osipovich Sukhoy in the early seventies. Yuriy Viktorovich Ivashechkin completed sketches of the aircraft in 1971. The first plans were ready a year later. The Ministry of the Aviation Industry was very cool about the design bureau's proposal. The Air Force was also unenthusiastic.

"This reaction was expected and to a large degree natural," V. Babak, senior designer of the aircraft, recalls. "In the gradual development of aviation each new aircraft is, as a rule, a more complex and multirole aircraft than its predecessors. It is the embodiment of the slogan 'Further, Higher, Faster.' But we used different principles in our plans: closer, lower, quieter."

Vladimir Petrovich's last words were said with a smile, but they are close to reality. An aircraft was conceived capable of operating at relatively short ranges—purely in the interests of the front—and carrying out heavy, destructive, low-level strikes against ground targets at subsonic speeds....

Opponents of the project objected that there were already aircraft around which were cooperating effectively with the Ground Forces: the Su-17, the MiG-27....

Yet the idea of a ground-attack aircraft survived. The proponents of its development [sozdaniye] included Army General I. Pavlovskiy, then commander of the Ground Forces, and Marshal of Aviation A. Yefimov, first deputy commander in chief (now commander in chief) of the Air Force. During the Great Patriotic War Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yefimov himself flew the renowned Il-2, and he saw a future for an Army ground-attack aircraft under new conditions, too.

The Su-25 made its maiden flight in February 1975. It was flown by Vladimir Sergeyevich Ilyushin, the design bureau's test pilot and son of the aircraft designer who developed the best ground-attack aircraft and the most common and effective warplane of World War II.

The airplane's maiden flight did not disappoint the specialists. But P. Dementyev, minister of the aviation industry, was adamant: If the Su-25 went into production it would have to be with a different engine. The problem was that the first version of the ground-attack aircraft was fitted with the R-9 powerplants used on the MiG-19 fighter. The minister proposed using the more powerful and equally well-developed R-13 engine fitted to the MiG-21.

Changes had to be made to the airframe to adapt it for different engines. The powerplant itself needed to be fundamentally modernized: Afterburners were not needed on a ground-attack aircraft and it was possible to make a number of other survivability-enhancing modifications. The new Su-25, as we know it today, flew in 1978.

The ground-attack aircraft also had a difficult history because it had to be tested under actual combat conditions. The first two aircraft were sent to Afghanistan in 1980. A 12-strong Su-25 squadron was already in operation there the following year. The aircraft turned out just as expected—easy to fly, hard-hitting in attack, and amazingly survivable. The Su-25 had entered service.

The group of specialists was awarded the USSR State Prize for their development of the new combat aircraft. Apart from the chief designer, the prizewinners were Valeriy Vladimirovich Nikolskiy, who was responsible for series production and assimilation of the aircraft; Petr Konstantinovich Lyrshchikov, who developed and tested the combat survivability system (this took more than 2,500 experiments); Yuriy Alekseyevich Ryabyshkin, the airframe designer; Colonel Stanislav Vasilyevich Nazarenko, who organized the test programs; and Aleksandr Ivanovich Blinov, who evaluated the aircraft's endurance characteristics. A State Prize was also awarded for the work of Aleksey Andreyevich Ryzhov, under whose leadership a successful powerplant was developed for the Su-25.

So just what are the combat qualities of an airplare whose designers, as has already been stated, were not striving for range, altitude, or speed records?

The Su-25 is equipped with a special combat survivability system allowing it to penetrate heavy antiaircraft fire and reach its target. During the Great Patriotic War the Il-2 and Il-10 ground-attack aircraft were dubbed the flying tanks. The Su-25 also uses titanium-alloy armor. The cockpit is all-welded and armored. Survivability is ensured by blast-resistant fuel tanks, systems redundancy, and reliable protection of all systems. Control rods with a diameter of 40 mm are used to control the aircraft, for instance. A 12.7 mm bullet cannot break these rods. The ground-attack aircraft's engines are located on either side of the fuselage and are separated from it by armored nacelles, which is also very important for survivability.

The Su-25 is an aircraft with powerful and varied armaments. Its eight hardpoints can deliver 4 tonnes of ordnance. These weapons could take the form of 8 500-kg bombs or 32 100-kg bombs, for instance. The ground-attack aircraft can deliver 256 unguided 57-mm rockets. Its weapons load includes high-caliber unguided rockets, as well as 350- or 650-kg guided missiles. If necessary the aircraft can carry antitank bomb dispensers.

I do not know whether these figures will impress readers. When talking about modern aircraft, we have grown used to throwing around big figures. Yet it should be recalled that the legendary Il-2 could not carry more than 600 kg of bombs or 8 rockets. Only one World War II-vintage aircraft could compare with the Su-25 in terms of payload—the Boeing B-29 Superfortress. But the B-29 was a strategic bomber and a huge aircraft, whereas the Su-25 is a modest warplane.

To defend itself the Su-25 uses two air-to-air missiles, which are always fitted—like the pistol on an officer's thigh. The rapid-fire 30 mm cannon is used far more frequently to attack ground targets. After all, ground-attack aircraft generally operate with fighter cover.

The designers devoted a great deal of attention to the Su-25's maneuverability. Having acquired a target and preparing to attack, a pilot should not lose visual contact with it. Its sophisticated unswept [pryamoy] wing, classic tail assembly, and good aerodynamics have made the Su-25 exceptionally maneuverable. It has no equal among the world's warplanes in this respect.

The Su-25 is easy to fly, forgiving, and technologically efficient. Even with a full payload the ground-attack aircraft can operate from an unpaved, third-class airfield with limited facilities. Everything it needs for self-sufficient operation is located in four air-mobile pods. The engines are started up by battery and can run reliably on gasoline or diesel fuel. In its 9 years of service the Su-25 has never had an engine refit caused by foreign-object damage [zaboina]. Nor has there been a single crash involving the Su-25 over this period.

Pilots of any proficiency rating can fly the ground-attack aircraft. But, as combat experience shows, they should be people of strong character.

In Afghanistan in 1981 I saw a Su-25 with seven bullet holes in it after it had attacked a ravine guarded by two dozen heavy machineguns. I was told that even a larger number of bullet holes would not stop the "rook"—the plane was given this nickname, I think, because of its beauty in flight—getting back to base.

It later transpired that even Stingers by no means always force the pilot to eject. I have been convinced of this by cases which I know about, and by the numerous photographs I have been shown by Test Pilot V. Ilyushin. These photographs are unique. They are unique because they can only be taken under one condition—if an aircraft with a fuselage damaged by a missile, a buckled engine, and missing individual elements returns to base and does not break up on landing.

The "rooks" came back. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has discussed in detail military pilot Lieutenant P. Golubtsov, who safely landed his aircraft which had been hit by a Stinger upon clearing a ridge—mountains are mountains. We have also discussed engineer Lieutenant Colonel V. Lobanov who, together with his subordinates, managed to revive the smashed Su-25 and restore the aircraft's severely damaged middle and tail sections and all its avionics. With a new duralumin skin the "rook" was able to fly again.

During the Great Patriotic War airmen knew that an Il-2 would show its mettle with two or three successful sorties. This is also true of the Su-25. In Afghanistan many pilots took part in hundreds of combat sorties in the aircraft. For instance, Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel Aleksandr Rutskiy has more than 400 to his credit. Every aircraft lost in Afghanistan had put in 2,800 combat flying hours on average.

The world's aviation industries have developed many modern ground-attack aircraft: the A-7, the A-10, the Harrier, the Alpha Jet. The best foreign model—the A-10—makes up the bulk of U.S. ground-attack aircraft. The designers of the aircraft were very inventive: The aircraft's systems are protected from armor-piercing and high-explosive shells of up to 23 mm caliber, the engines are located above the fuselage, its cooled exhaust trail is angled slightly upward in relation to the fuselage axis and is screened by the horizontal tail assembly. This is to reduce the possibility of a direct strike by a missile with an infrared guidance system. The A-10 can also carry more than 7 tonnes of bombs and missiles and has a 30-mm seven-barrel cannon. "Jane's," the annual Anglo-U.S. armaments directory, calls the Su-25 the counterpart of the A-10. And yet certain foreign experts prefer our ground-attack aircraft. Why?

The A-10 is a large aircraft—it is roughly half the size again of the Su-25. A large and clearly visible aircraft is, needless to say, an easier target for air defense systems. Nor does its larger weapons load make up for this shortcoming—4,000 tonnes of bombs are usually enough to resolve any task. All the more so as ground-attack aircraft operate in groups.

The A-10's speed might also be considered inadequate: 722 km per hour without external tanks. The Su-25's speed is 1,000 km per hour—the ideal speed for a ground-attack aircraft.

In any comparison the Su-25's combat specifications look convincing: They have been severely battle-proven.

...The Su-25 will be featured at the traditional Le Bourget Air Show in France together with the Su-27 fighter-interceptor. The two aircraft developed by the same firm are by no means similar. The Su-27 is a highly complex warplane incorporating the latest achievements in electronics and automation. The Su-25, on the other hand, is one of the simplest of aircraft. And that, too, is one of the qualities of a fourth-generation ground-attack aircraft.

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